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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear. . . then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Ford-Carter campaign issue

Big government

November 2 is an important date for the world. On that day Americans will not simply be voting for their new president. They will be choosing a man who could leave a mark on world events for years to come. Today the Monitor begins a series on the campaign between the present Republican President, Gerald R. Ford, and the Democratic candidate who would replace him, Jimmy Carter. Traditionally the Monitor does not endorse candidates. But we will comment on the stands the two contestants take. Sometimes we may favor Mr. Ford's views, sometimes Mr. Carter's. Or on occasion we may consider neither of them has an adequate answer to the problem at hand that must be solved. It is hoped this approach will stimulate discussion.

President Ford makes "big government" the principal target of his campaign; he would scale it down and move power and funds away from Washington to state and local areas. Jimmy Carter attacks the problem differently; he would streamline the federal government, making it more efficient, less wasteful, and more responsive to people's needs.

Both men are rightly sensitive to the public desire for better government but the question is: how does one achieve it? On balance, Mr. Carter gains an advantage by his more activist approach to the problem.

The time is long overdue for a national leader to look at the Washington bureaucracy with fresh eye and try to sort out the chaotic web of overlapping agencies, proliferating programs, burdensome paperwork, and bloated budgets. Needed are new and imaginative ideas on how government can best carry out its legitimate functions and a careful analysis of what is better left to the federal government and what should be shifted to the localities. A mere "no" attitude to more public spending (however justified such a hold-down is) does not confront the problem of inefficiency.

This does not mean Mr. Carter intends to reduce the size of government. "I would guess it is likely to go up," he admits candidly. While there are potential pitfalls here, this is not necessarily a frightening prospect if the result is more effective government. As in corporate business, it is not bigness itself that is good or bad but whether the operation is efficient and power is properly distributed. Moreover, contrary to common impression, most of the growth in government in the past years has taken place at the local and state and not the federal level. The federal bureaucracy has increased only slightly over the past 20 years.

However, we are firm believers in decision-making at the grass roots where this is possible and Mr. Ford's call for decentralization deserves close scrutiny. But the President will have to be more specific about what parts of government he wants to decentralize and what kind of controls would be needed to prevent the misuse of funds and powers shifted to state capitals and city halls, where there are often more "watergates" than in Washington.

Both candidates support the common-sense position of a balanced budget, the only honest and economically viable method of fiscal management. We believe Mr. Ford means business. Whether Mr. Carter could achieve this objective and still provide a federal income-

maintenance program, housing aid, national health insurance, job programs, and other services he proposes is a moot point. He does not add up the costs for us and hence caution is called for.

It is conceivable that, with a good tax reform, a sound reorganization of government, and a judicious pruning of programs, his goal is achievable. Most of the present deficit, after all, can be traced to the recession (i.e., unemployment compensation, larger welfare benefits, loss of revenue from the private sector) and would disappear with full recovery of the economy.

As for Mr. Carter's "zero-base budgeting" plan, this needs to be spelled out in detail, something that cannot be done until the scope of the problem is studied. In general the idea is attractive. It may be unrealistic to expect every agency of the vast federal establishment to justify its budget and existence every year. It is also plain there are many expenditures which cannot be "zero-based," such as interest on the national debt. But there are certainly areas where substantial savings could be made, and why should not all programs be looked at from scratch at given intervals?

Some highly respected professionals caution, however, against plunging too heavily into so-called "ZBB" and regarding it as panacea for inefficient management. Mr. Carter's contention, moreover, that "continuing expenditures in a current budget get little attention" is not borne out by the experience in Washington, where many presidents have tried over the years to get rid of wasteful programs.

The obstacle to real reform has largely been Congress, where conflicting special interests and constituencies vie to protect pet programs. It sounds naive for Mr. Carter to expect utter "harmony" with the legislative branch when he has no firsthand knowledge of the competing pressures he would encounter within his own party. No doubt he would have to compromise with the "establishment," even though he separates himself from it. Total agreement between Congress and the executive, furthermore, is unrealistic and even undesirable given the countervailing functions of the two branches of government under the Constitution.

Yet it is fair to say that, if a fundamental shaking up of the government is desirable, a Democratic president has a better chance of doing this, given a Democratic Legislature.

This may be a tough match for both of us . . . win/lose



Kissinger's hopes for Africa

Africa south of the Sahara now is likely to witness a Henry Kissinger effort to shuttle diplomacy, barring a last-minute setback. Although he himself admits the chances of success are no greater than 50 percent, the peripatetic American Secretary of State is willing to give southern Africa's problems the same personal, on the scene, flying attempt to reach solutions that he indulged in with considerable success in the Middle East.

Fresh from his Zurich meeting with Prime Minister Vorster, Dr. Kissinger presumably knows what to expect from troubled white-ruled South Africa, although it is far from clear what Mr. Vorster can or will do as far as Rhodesia's intransigent Prime Minister, Ian Smith is concerned. The Secretary now needs to touch base with black African leaders, five of whom have just completed a summit conference in Tanzania.

Although some of them appeared less than wildly enthusiastic about the prospect of a

visit, Dr. Kissinger's negotiating ability is widely respected by Africans, so there is hope to be satisfaction that the top American diplomat is willing to give their area his undivided attention. "He asked to come and we said, 'No right, come along,'" is the way Tanzanian President Nyerere's aide put it.

Significantly, the five African leaders, including the heads of Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Botswana as well as Tanzania, had to reconcile the deep differences between the Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) nationalist faction. Lack of agreement between such men as Joshua Nkomo in Rhodesia, Bishop Abel Muzorewa in Zambia, the Rev. Ndabandwe Mphahlele in Tanzania, and Robert Mugabe in Mozambique, each of whom leads a faction, illustrates the fragmentation of the nationalist movement as well as any concerted action to upset white minority rule in Rhodesia is concerned. For over a decade, Mr. Smith has been able to count on black disputes over leadership to keep him in his own control.

Thus an urgent bit of fence-mending fronts Dr. Kissinger before he or the Secretary of State can present a strong alternative to the Rhodesian government as an alternative to major nationalist attacks in the near future. For without progress on a Rhodesian settlement, agreements in Namibia and South Africa will be much harder to achieve.

At this stage, one can only wish a Kissinger aerial mission well. The stakes to such a venture are nothing less than averting a possible bloody confrontation between blacks and whites in the white-dominated southern tip of Africa. Clashes on the Rhodesia-Mozambique frontier along with incidents further inland plus the new disorders by Coloreds in Cape Town show the urgency of working out agreements while there is time for negotiation remains. With stakes as great as this, nothing can be lost by putting a Kissinger shuttle mission on the way to give peaceful solutions another try.

If Kissinger has more information, this is the time to set it forth - or else offer more convincing evidence than hitherto that it cannot be ascertained what happened to the missing Americans.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, October 25, 1976

60¢ U.S.

U.S. election campaign

Gallup poll astonishes Gallup

By John Dillon
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

President Ford's rumormongering in this fall's campaign has been the most rajah in modern American political history.

George Gallup Jr., a widely respected public opinion pollster, says Mr. Ford's quick recovery in the past two months has put him within striking distance of an upset victory on Nov. 2.

The President, who was behind 33 percent in the Gallup poll in July, trails by only 6 percent today.

"In the 40 years we've been in the business, we've never reported this kind of comeback," says Mr. Gallup. "This is history-making."

Mr. Gallup says there are a large number of unusual aspects about the 1976 election. In a telephone interview with this newspaper, he pointed to the following:

- Mr. Carter's meteoric rise in the primaries. His support among Democratic voters rose from only 4 percent in January-February surveys to 26 percent in March, 36 percent in May, and 53 percent in June. Mr. Carter's rise "rivals" that of 1940 GOP standard-bearer Wendell Willkie.

- Widespread wavering among the electorate. Nearly one-third of the American public still hasn't definitely decided whom to support. Nothing like this has been seen before.

- President Ford's comeback. After trailing 62 to 28 percent in July, the incumbent is behind in the latest Gallup poll only 48 to 42. The main reason: a return of "Reaganites" and other conservatives to his support.

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Get the scissors — the mini's in again

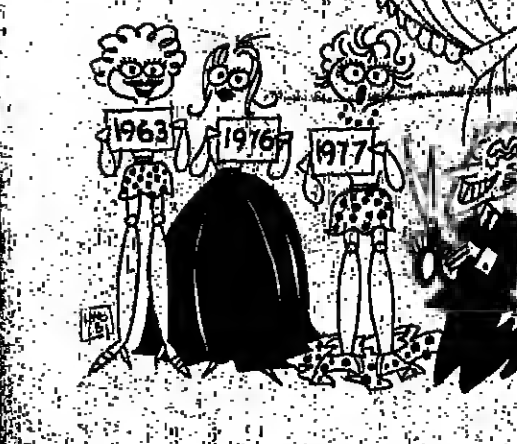
By Jim Brownlow
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris designers are about to announce a long-expected breakthrough in summer fashion: the miniskirt is back.

Reports from Italy say that Italian designers have in their collections for women next summer both shorts and short skirts.

Some women will shrug their shoulders and note that the miniskirt never really left — and in fact the miniskirt did spearhead a revolution in fashion. In bringing it back, designers say they are confirming that they are a new era.

*Please turn to Page 23



Moscow-Peking test of wills

Was Kissinger warning Moscow not to meddle in China?

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The power struggle in China over the succession to the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung has led to some shadow boxing involving both the Soviet Union and the United States.

On the Soviet side, there has been a probably "inspired" dispatch from a Soviet journalist to London and Paris newspapers. It is being interpreted as meaning that Moscow will once again take the gloves off with Peking if recently installed Chairman Mao Kuo-feng does not slip his anti-Soviet line and respond appropriately to the mulling of anti-Chinese propaganda from the Soviet Union since Chairman Mao's passing last month.

On the American side, there was (little noticed at the time) a statement by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger at a news conference in Boston. The Secretary said: "The territorial integrity and sovereignty

of China is very important to the world equilibrium and we will consider it a grave matter if this were threatened by an outside power."

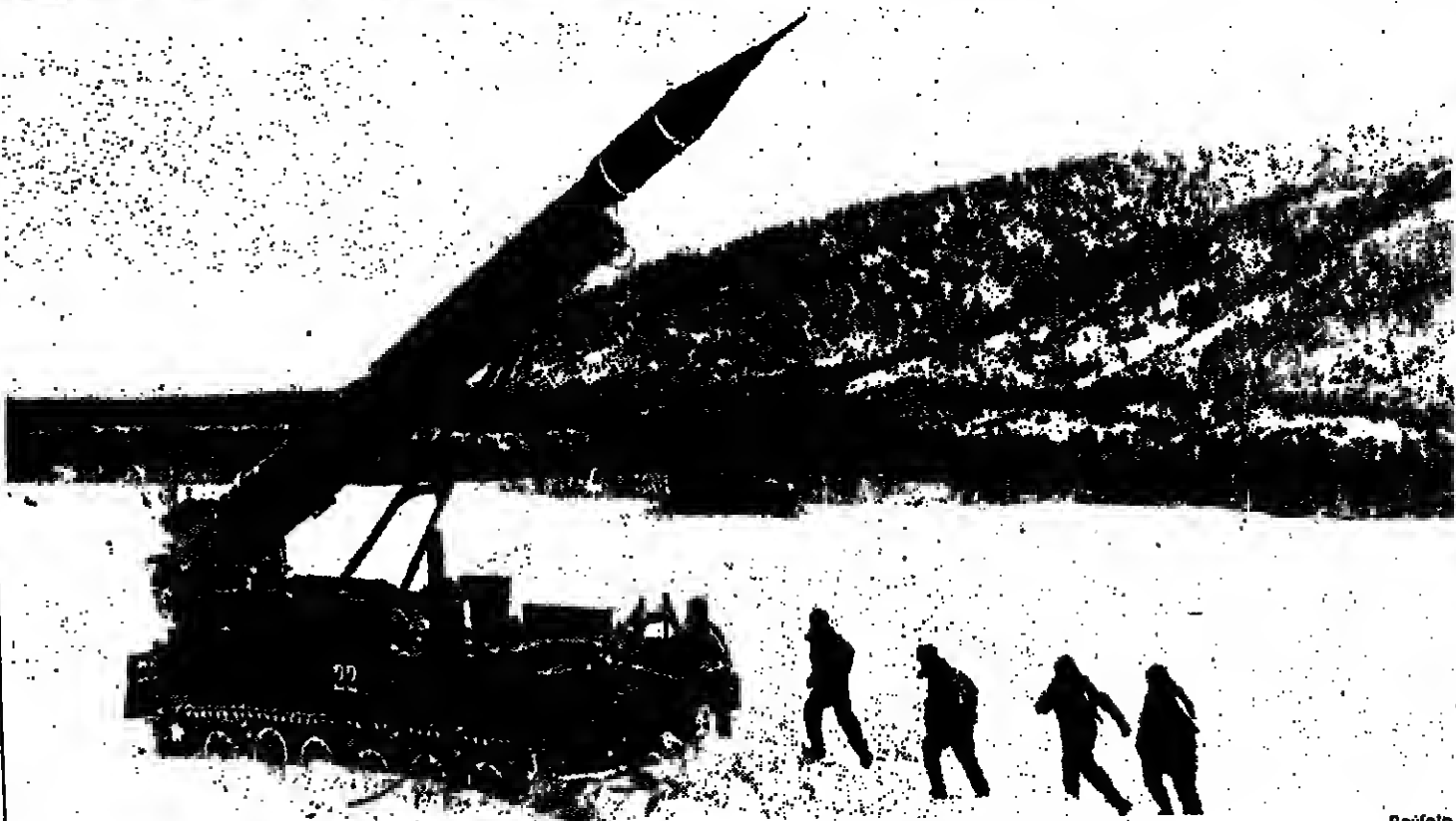
Moscow is clearly concerned to use the uncertainty or fluidity in Peking at the moment in try to encourage or strengthen any pro-Soviet sentiment at or near the top in China and to encourage in Chinese diplomacy a less hostile attitude toward all things Russian.

Washington is concerned to discourage the Russians (or anybody else, such as the Chinese Nationalists in Taiwan) from using the present uncertainty in Peking as the moment to make any move against China itself.

The State Department, questioned about the significance of the Secretary's Boston statement, insists (according to reports reaching here) that it was merely a restatement of earlier U.S. policy. But to many, the timing of the statement is interesting.

In one sense, Secretary Kissinger's remark is a counterweight to former U.S. Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger's clinical conclusions after a recent visit to China, on which he was accompanied by Time magazine's diplomatic editor. Time wrote: "To Schlesinger, Chinese vulnerability to the Soviet military machine was apparent."

*Please turn to Page 23



Missiles give weight to Moscow's words

Is Britain just a rich country badly managed?

By Francis Reuny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Britain's 15 percent Bank Rate has collided head-on with a campaign among business officials to restore confidence and attract investment. With the cost of bank overdrafts up 40 percent within five months, it was not surprising that shares on the London market collapsed well below the 300 mark on the Financial Times Index.

An engineering manager told this reporter: "How can we afford to install new capacity when our profits are pared to the bone by taxes and controls, and we cannot pay the price for borrowing?"

At the Conservative Party conference in Brighton, the leader, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher was describing the Land of Hope and Glory as "the Land of Beg and Borrow," adding "Britain is on her knees, and it is not hypocritical to say that." "Britain," added her predecessor, Mr. Edward Heath, "is at the end of the road."

Despite this talk from a party which has always prided itself on opening the best of Brit-

ain, there are reasons for arguing that the nation is far better placed for recovery than many suppose. West German economists have lately cultivated the theory that while their own country is essentially a poor one ex-

Commentary

iently managed, Britain is a rich country badly managed. All that is really necessary, then, is better management by industry and government.

Surveys of business opinion carried out by the financial press and the Department of Industry just before the recent sterling crisis indicated that investment was already turning upwards and that employment should follow shortly after. The department forecasts a 16.20 percent rise in investment next year.

"It is not the economy of this country that is bad but its psychology," wrote the chief economist of one major investment company. And he went on to cite several factors which put Britain in a better position than her competitors. There was plenty of spare capacity

*Please turn to Page 23

Cairo may cozy up to Moscow

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Egyptian President Sadat may be preparing to thaw out his chilly relations with the Soviets. U.S. President Ford's pre-election promise of super-supplies of arms to Israel is one of the reasons.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy will travel to Moscow, after this week's Arab summit conference on Lebanon here, for the first high-level political contact since President Sadat broke off the 15-year Soviet-Egyptian friendship treaty last spring.

Recently U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Herman Eilts has been in Washington. Diplomatic circles here presume he has been explaining how and why President Ford's sudden announcement of a surprise arms package for Israel could sour U.S.-Egyptian relations.

*Please turn to Page 23

The UN, Vietnam, and missing Americans

Vietnam has pulled back its curtain of secrecy about Americans missing in that country just enough to disclose the fate of 11 pilots, all reportedly killed in action. In so doing, Hanoi's objectives are clear: A vote on the admission of Vietnam (North and South) now are combined as one to the United Nations will be coming up soon. And the Vietnamese also are anxious for American aid, promised under the cease-fire agreement of early 1972, to be dispensed.

Of Hanoi's genuine interest in U.S. financial assistance in rebuilding war-torn Vietnam there can be no doubt. But major questions remain unresolved. First, the cease-fire agreement collapsed. North Vietnam attacked and defeated South Vietnam, and old negotiations therefore never really got started. Second, and more important, is American eyes. Vietnam has not provided sufficient information about some 4,000 Americans still unaccounted for as a result of the Indo-China conflict. Of these

nearly 300 are listed as missing in action. Hanoi's ploy seems to be to provide a little more information as a goodwill gesture; to get things off dead center as the UN membership vote looms ahead, but not to surrender its chief leverage on the United States by clearing what happened to all those still unaccounted for. That leaves the matter of possible U.S. aid very much in abeyance, which is as it should be.

"We cannot believe," a State Department spokesman said, "that the Vietnamese wish to trade on the misery of American families, and therefore we call upon the Vietnamese authorities to provide as full an account as possible for all of our missing men. We will further delay a general cease-fire agreement until we are fully satisfied that the U.S. attitude on Vietnamese UN membership would hinge on Hanoi's helplessness in the missing Americans. Under the circumstances, word about only 12 pilots seems completely inadequate. One as-

sumes the Vietnamese could have provided this information long ago, if they chose.

Last year the United States twice vetoed UN applications by North and South Vietnam, and the United Nations did little to change this situation. Vietnam has claimed, however, that it has tracked the men missing in action with the exception of the U.S. opposition. And there may be something to be said for allowing Vietnam, like China, into the fellowship of other nations. It only to and its isolation and foster its responsible behavior. But U.S. approval of seating Hanoi at the UN probably would spark criticism from Reaganites in the Republican Party whose political support President Ford needs.

If Vietnam has more information, this is the time to set it forth - or else offer more convincing evidence than hitherto that it cannot be ascertained what happened to the missing Americans.

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Europe



By Sven Simon

Kosygin: back in public view

Who is Brezhnev's heir-apparent?

Kremlin line of succession: a few clues

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The sudden public reappearance of Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, almost three months after his last public ceremony, and the major party and government gatherings to be held in the Kremlin at the end of the month have revived speculation here on the line of succession to Leonid Brezhnev as the top man in the Soviet Union.

Kremlin-watchers here are looking carefully for confirmation or at least hints of the succession scenario they have projected.

The heir-apparent to Mr. Brezhnev remains Andrei Kirilenko, a member of the Communist Party Politburo. He seems to take charge whenever Mr. Brezhnev is away, and Mr. Kirilenko's recent 70th birthday was marked with what analysts saw as significant pomp.

But Mr. Kirilenko, who is a few months older than Mr. Brezhnev, is seen as a caretaker leader only.

Western analysts say the next in line is Fyodor Kulakov, a wavy-haired, bushy-eyebrowed member of the Politburo who once managed a section of a sugar mill and who completed a degree in agriculture by correspondence at the age of 39. Mr. Kulakov is 12 years younger

than Mr. Brezhnev and would represent a significant generation change if he succeeded any time soon.

Congresses attended

Recently he has been prominent in the press here. He was chosen to attend party congresses to Bulgaria and Mongolia. Mr. Brezhnev himself attended the previous congresses in these capitals.

Here are some of the possible changes Western Kremlin-watchers are looking for:

- Mr. Kosygin himself. Almost three years older than Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Kosygin has been expected for some time to leave his arduous post and replace Nikolai Podgorniy as top man of the government (as distinct from party). Speculation was fueled by the reports that he had suffered a stroke during the summer and then had a relapse.

Now that he has been shown chatting and shaking hands at airport welcoming ceremonies for a visiting Mongolian leader Oct. 18, speculation has redoubled. Some believe Mr. Kosygin is likely to replace Mr. Podgorniy, whose work is ceremonial. Others say he might retire. All eyes are on the coming meeting of the Supreme Soviet and whether Mr. Kosygin will deliver the report on the current five-year plan in person as he did on the previous plan in 1971.

- Whether younger figures such as Grigori Romanov (Politburo member and Leningrad party chief) or Vladimir Socherbitskiy (Politburo colleague and Ukrainian party chief) will be brought to Moscow, perhaps to fill the vacant trade-union affairs seat on the secretariat. That seat was last held by the demoted Alexander Sholepin.

- Whether Kirill Mazurek, first deputy premier, will succeed Mr. Kosygin, and whether Brezhnev protégé Nikolai Tikhonov, recently appointed to equal rank will be given Politburo status (perhaps as a nonvoting member).

- Whether party ideologist Mikhail Suslov retires, leaving a gap in the Politburo that might be filled by nonvoting member Boris Ponomarev.

- Whether Mr. Podgorniy might be replaced by Andrei Gromyko, longtime Foreign Minister. Some analysts believe Mr. Gromyko's shoes could be capably filled by Ambassador Washington Anatoly Dobrynin.

- Whether Mr. Brezhnev himself, coming of Western criticism that Moscow can't handle succession in an orderly way, might even promote Mr. Kirilenko to a diminished post of first party secretary, leaving real power in his own hands. Mr. Brezhnev could call another Central Committee meeting late in the year or make an announcement at his own 70th-birthday celebrations Dec. 18.

Giscard's book outlines the France he wants

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has published a small book of political philosophy, in which he offers his countryman an expansive outline of the kind of new society he wants to lead them toward.

The book, called simply "French Democracy," also sheds some light on the President personally.

He has some friendly words for American democracy which he considers a smoothly functioning political system. But his proposals are not, he says, "the classical liberal project, such as the American society dreamed of and still expresses. Not that we belittle the simplicity and force of the liberal conception. But it frequently bears down on the individual, placed with all the hazards of life... a too unjust destiny, a too desolate solitude."

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's roots are in classic liberalism, however, and he is even more critical of what he calls "collectivism," which he finds inhuman.

What the President offers instead is what he calls the "advanced liberal society," a society of "free and responsible men" with "individual fulfillment" as a primary goal.

What he is describing is the product of long months of consideration and years of government experience, and his ideas came, as a shock to no one. Many think he seeks to build an American-style centrist political mandate.

The book was treasured seriously although sometimes critically by the left-leaning press, and praised by right-of-center commentators.

ately compared to Mao's collected thoughts, hence the nicknames "The Little White Book" and "The thoughts of Chairman Giscard."

Although the book runs only 143 pages of text (and sells for the equivalent of \$3), it is indeed rare for a sitting government head to pen a full book.

France, however, does have a tradition of sorts that political men have a literary side as well, which has produced men like André Malraux, who was minister of culture in General de Gaulle's day. It is too soon to compare Mr. Giscard to Mr. Malraux, but the President was so enthusiastic about this his first book that he told reporters he will write another in a year or so.

The book itself also offers some insight into Valéry Giscard d'Estaing the man. Becoming President of France was clearly a long-time, burning ambition, one whose accomplishment he treasures. He calls the presidency "an impressive title when one thinks of our history, and one which I do not write on this paper without feeling — even if it will make some smile — a profound emotion in applying it to myself."

There are also hints of that Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, who calls himself a "traditionalist reformer," longs for a more ordered society. He recalls the days of a rural order, "when information hardly circulated. Freedom of political, philosophical, and religious opinions left the code of social comportment intact, recognized by all. Authority, clothed in its insignia, needed only appear in order to impress and be respected."

These days, he proclaims, are gone, but what he wants is a society in which order is not imposed from above but emerges from below.



By Sven Simon

Giscard: pleased with his book

dered human relations, built on the much more complex base of industrial growth.

He proposes, through gradual reform, to provide more livable cities, equality for women, a voice for workers in their jobs, a right to lead one's private life as one chooses, a government that relates to people as humans, and a chance for success in a still-structured society. It is an almost Greek-style mix of balance and diversity.

In return, he obviously hopes to continue to be elected, and to have a permanent voice in the world.

Fish and oxen benefit from detente

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The kind of detente going best of all these days is four-legged (and even no-legged). It substitutes fur for fear, feathers for feathers, and scales for suspicion.

About 40 Alaskan musk-oxen are doing well on the Soviet Union's Wrangel Island. Soviet Central Asian herders (Americans know them as polecats) are romping in Maryland. Thousands of Mississippi catfish are swimming in the Volga River. A consignment of paddish arrived in April.

And work is being completed to protect the breeding grounds and the flyways of the snow geese, the cranes, and the other birds that an-

nally migrate from the United States to the Soviet Union in the spring and back again in the fall.

The exchanges are part of the environmental cooperation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union under a broad agreement signed in 1973 between former President Richard Nixon and Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev.

The idea is to build up stocks of animals endangered in one country with similar animals in the other. In the case of the musk-oxen, the Soviet Union has a small herd of 40 on Wrangel Island, and the U.S. has a herd of 40 in Alaska.

Soviet officials want to build up a catfish herd in the Volga River, and the U.S. wants to build up a herd of musk-oxen in Alaska.

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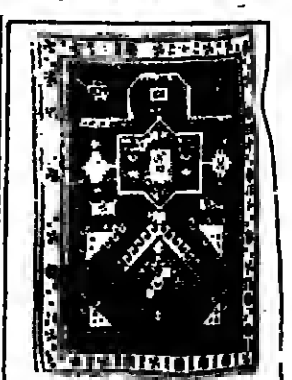
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Combatants confronted by stiff terms

Arab leaders strive to shape Lebanese peace

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Cairo
In a considerable effort of will and energy to recover the temporary unity they enjoyed during their 1973 war with Israel, six key leaders of the Arab world are grimly setting about their self-appointed task of imposing peace in Lebanon.

Egyptian commentators are generally giving King Khalid of Saudi Arabia — whose Arab world political clout has grown with Saudi oil wealth — almost equal credit with Egyptian President Sadat for the agreement for ending the Lebanese war reached last week at the summit in Riyadh, the Saudi capital.

As though a hidden conductor had waved his baton, strident Egyptian and Syrian propaganda rumpuses against each other suddenly fell silent Tuesday. This was part of the accord between President Sadat and Syrian President Assad to bury their differences and restore full diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Egyptian analysts are publicly optimistic but privately very cautious in assessing the likelihood that the peace agreement will succeed. They point out that the 30,000-man Arab expeditionary force for Lebanon agreed on at Riyadh — 10 times the strength of hitherto ineffective Arab peace-keeping troops — will include no Egyptian soldiers, as President Sadat had warned earlier, and that they will probably have a Saudi commander under the political authority of Lebanese President Elias Sarkis.

They also stress that the final Riyadh communiqué nowhere mentioned withdrawal of the more than 20,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon, and that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreement to comply with the 1969 Cairo accord (regulating the Palestinian presence in Lebanon) represents a virtual defeat for the PLO, unlikely to be accepted by leftist guerrilla groups of the so-called "rejection front" backed by Iraq.

Perhaps most difficult, the Egyptians acknowledge, will be a provision calling for the

withdrawal of all warring Lebanese factions to positions held on April 13, 1975, when the fighting began. Since then, rightists have overrun several major Palestinian and leftist strongholds and conquered several hundred square miles of territory they will not wish to surrender.

Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait bear the burden of implementing the Lebanese-PLO arrangements within 90 days. It is these arrangements — dating back in 1969 when the PLO was given formal permission to use certain areas of Lebanon to prepare and stage attacks on Israel, provided the PLO did not violate Lebanese sovereignty — which Israel will watch the most closely.

Israeli forces have been supporting anti-Palestinian rightist Christian Lebanese who in recent days have cleared practically all of the Palestinian-ledist alliance forces away from Israel's frontier with southern Lebanon.

Monitor contributor William Blommore reports from Beirut: Signing of the Riyadh agreement has prompted these questions here:

1. How will right-wing Lebanese Christians, now enmeshed in an open alliance with Israel, be able to negotiate final peace terms, under Arab League auspices, with Lebanese Muslim leftists — especially in light of the current Israeli-backed Christian buildup on Lebanon's southern border?

2. Will the regime of Syrian President Assad, now troubled by increasing internal communal violence in some northern Syrian towns, be able to survive the strain on its resources from Syrian advances against Palestinians in Lebanon and from the subsequent checking of those advances by determined Palestinian resistance and the new pan-Arab peace plan?

3. Will the Palestinians be willing to accept the restrictions in Lebanon prescribed for

them in the new agreement, and are they preparing to campaign for formal U.S. recognition within the framework of a united Arab League?

Although public reaction to the Riyadh agreement by Lebanese Christian leaders has been relatively moderate, rightist shelling of residential districts continued for a time after its signature, and most foreign observers detect Christian frustration at the prospect of massive pan-Arab intervention in a war which, in the past few months, the Christians had been winning.

Further, pan-Arab desire to develop a more united front from which to negotiate with Israel in expected Geneva peace talks are incompatible with the open cooperation between Lebanese Christian militias and the Israelis on the Lebanese-Israeli border.

As for the Syrians, ranking Western diplomats and Western journalists recently in Syria report deep concern among many Syrian officials about Syrian involvement in Lebanon — America's involvement in Vietnam being a comparison frequently voiced by Syrians.

These Western sources also report daily disturbances, particularly in the towns of Tinnam and Aleppo.

The Palestinians, meanwhile, are saying: "Our position remains the same: We feel the U.S. holds all the cards" — in the words of a top Palestinian spokesman last Monday during a press tour of Palestinian-held positions in the hills above Beirut.

Another Palestinian, in one of those positions, said: "By fighting hard here we have won respect and recognition among the Arab powers. It is common knowledge that the U.S. is trying to make peace between the Arabs and the Israelis. If the U.S. wants to deal with the Arabs, it will now have to recognize us [the PLO] as well."

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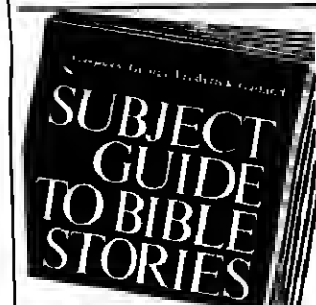
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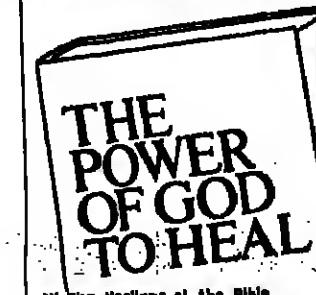
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Black Africa and the West collide over Namibia

By David Anable
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
United Nations, New York
The long-awaited, highly visible "confrontation" between the West and black Africa over Namibia (South-West Africa) finally has been reached here.
But behind the scenes negotiations to produce a peaceful solution are continuing, orchestrated by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.
That was the broad consensus of well-informed diplomats here, both black and white, after a "triple veto" Oct. 19 in the Security Council.
All three Western powers, the United States, Britain, and France — cast "no" votes against a black Africa and "third world"-sponsored resolution. This both condemned South Africa for its actions in Namibia and called for a mandatory arms embargo.
The Western position is that such an attack on South Africa would have done more harm than good at this delicate stage of the negotiations, set in motion by Dr. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. Western diplomats play down the impact of a triple veto, saying that most black African leaders are sophisticated enough to distinguish between the "theater" here and the "reality" of the actual negotiations.
For despite the Africans' public air of impatience and skepticism, the Americans insist that the private talks are making real progress.
According to one well-informed source, Dr. Kissinger has probed South African Prime Minister John Vorster to discover how far he is prepared to go to meet black African demands, particularly those of the main nationalist guerrilla group, SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization). SWAPO is demanding face-to-face talks with South Africa over the mechanics of how to transfer power to "the people of Namibia" via SWAPO.
Dr. Kissinger also has quietly transmitted his impression of Mr. Vorster's position to the leaders of the five "front-line" states (Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, and Angola) says this version. These leaders are said to have reacted positively in private to much of what he had to say, while raising objections only to comparatively minor points.
The next step, in this view, is for the front-line leaders to discuss the latest situation with the president of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma. Mr. Nujoma has returned to Africa from Havana; he is in Angola and is expected to be in Zambia shortly.
Under this plan the present participants would agree to include SWAPO; South Africa

would be present on some sort of observer basis; and the UN would have an unfettered role.
SWAPO rejected this, insisting on full South African participation. It sees the current Windhoek participants as irrevocably based stooges of South Africa and insists they be seated, if at all, in the South African delegation. It also demands release of all political prisoners in Namibia and a South African commitment to withdrawal of its military forces.
The South Africans now are understood to have gone a good deal further toward meeting the black African demands, if not the more extreme demands of SWAPO. The remaining obstacles are said to relate mainly to the respective roles in a Geneva conference of South Africa, SWAPO, and the Windhoek group.
In this context, the interview given by Mr. Vorster last week to the New York Times is criticized here as helping neither "on timing or substance."
In the interview Mr. Vorster is quoted as saying that he has "nothing to talk [about] to SWAPO at all," and that there is "no need for South Africa to participate in the conference itself."
Meanwhile, the greatest concern here Oct. 19 was that a heated Security Council debate with accompanying vetoes would push the black Africans into extreme public positions.

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Indian charter amendment unlikely

By Reuter
New Delhi
A proposed constitutional amendment to grant the prime minister immunity from arrest or prosecution on criminal charges (a unlikely to become law, according to a high Indian Government official).
Law Minister Hari Ram Gokhale said he doubted that the amendment, which was approved by today's upper house of Parliament in August last year, would be taken before the lower house.
He said the bill had been introduced when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was involved in litigation and her election had been set aside. Things had to be rectified, he said, and this had been done by amending the country's electoral laws, preventing court challenges over her election.
Mr. Gokhale said the situation now had changed. The law, which would have made Mrs. Gandhi immune from arrest, imprisonment, or court proceedings for alleged criminal acts committed before or during her term of office was no longer necessary, he said.
But he strongly defended the government's latest package of constitutional changes, which are scheduled to come up for debate by Parliament this week and which, critics say, will concentrate power in the hands of the prime minister and reduce the role of the courts.

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Africa

Rhodesian talks: Britain examines reasons for hope

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Can black and white Rhodesian leaders agree to beat their swords into plowshares at Geneva this week? British officials preparing the conference on a multiracial government there recognize the enormous accumulated burdens of bitterness and suspicion borne by such men as Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and black leaders Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

But the prize of a viable, prosperous, peaceful, multiracial Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is so appealing and the alternative of escalating warfare so horrifying that they hope both sides come to Geneva determined to negotiate seriously.

The conference, opening Oct. 28, will be chaired by Ivor Richard, British Ambassador to the United Nations.

The crux of the talks will be who is to control the interim government that is to lead to

black majority rule in two years. Will it be Mr. Smith and his white Rhodesians? Will it be Mr. Nkomo, or the high command of the black guerrillas to whom Mr. Mugabe is said to be closest? Or will the army and the police under the transitional regime?

In an article published in the recently national Sunday Express here, Mr. Smith said the agreement he announced with American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger Sept. 24 "is not negotiable." This agreement, according to Mr. Smith, provided for a council of state with equal white and black representation, a black prime minister, and defense and law portfolios in white hands.

Black leaders have been equally categorical in saying that the army and the police cannot be allowed to remain in the hands of Mr. Smith or of his colleagues during the interim government.

British officials pin their hopes for the conference on these factors:

• Both blacks and whites have accepted transition to black majority rule in two years.

Having conceded this principle, Mr. Smith's major effort at Geneva must be to ensure that the black majority government that takes over two years hence is a moderate one.

• Although some black leaders may argue that they are bound to succeed in the long run if they simply continue guerrilla war, a peaceful transition to majority rule would enable them to take over a country that is viable and prosperous and has international economic support.

• Various formulas can be devised to get around the deadlock over control of the army and the police. One could have a white commander in chief and a black deputy, or a black police minister with a white chief of police. One could even envisage a Commonwealth security force.

Britain has been criticized for wishing merely to chair the conference without taking any responsibility for Rhodesia, while judicially the Smith regime has been in rebellion against Britain for 11 years.

The Observer, in a recent editorial, proposed

that Britain should be prepared to provide an interim head of state who would be commander in chief of a mixed force of white and black Rhodesian troops and guerrillas.

The official view here is that Britain will not become involved in Rhodesia in a military sense.

The most encouraging sign the British have seen so far is that despite the peremptory statements issued by black and white Rhodesians about what is and is not negotiable, both sides are still prepared to come to the conference. Officials here say Mr. Smith must see that black African perceptions of his position are totally different and that if he is to get the moderate black government he ultimately wants, he will have to compromise.

On the so-called safety net — a proposed international fund to help white Rhodesians whether they wish to stay on or to leave a black-ruled country — the official British view is that it should not be a direct concern of the conference.

Canada

A mixed bag of many things for Canadians

Trudeau seeks to rebuild slipping support

By Tim Sellar
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa
Embattled Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has unveiled a "calm the waters" speech that he hopes will help him rebuild his weakened political base.

The speech, which opened a new session of Parliament, promises a mixed bag of government economic and social initiatives to soothe critics of his Liberal Party government.

In it, Mr. Trudeau promises more government support for private enterprise, revisions to his unpopular bilingualism program for civil servants, and a year-round program to create jobs.

There is to be a new start on the human rights legislation that Parliament did not have

time to debate during the just-concluded session and an improvement in federal aid to day-care centers.

But the document is deliberately vague, a state-of-the-nation speech that only outlined legislation Mr. Trudeau will place before Parliament.

The Prime Minister, eight years in power, has scuttled his earlier musings about a "new society" in which government was to play a greater role in the marketplace.

He appears to be laying the groundwork for the country's withdrawal from the year-old program of wage-price controls that has angered businessmen and labor officials alike.

The root of his government's throne speech change-of-heart appears to be the Gallup poll, which shows the opposition Progressive Conservative Party in a strong position to replace

the Liberals in any election held right now.

A recent poll gave Mr. Trudeau's party only 33 percent of the national vote compared with 45 percent for the Conservatives led by Joe Clark. Although it narrowed the Conservatives' lead to 12 points from 18, the poll shows the Liberals remain in deep trouble with the electorate midway through their term.

The new throne speech is the forerunner of a potentially more important document: An analysis of Canada's post-controls society is being prepared by 10 top-ranking public servants.

In the meantime, Mr. Trudeau is promising that the government will follow a "middle road" between those who advocate a limited role for it in economic and social planning and those who want a "continually expanding one."

"This middle road," the throne speech says, "represents a commitment to a society in

which all Canadians can develop their full potential, a society in which justice, compassion, tolerance, and understanding lead to a strong and united Canada, a society based upon individual initiative and marked by personal freedom."

The speech avoided mentioning several sensitive political topics, including the government's planned review of Canada's therapeutic abortion law and its proposed gun-control legislation.

It does give vague assurances that the Trudeau administration is planning a policy paper that might lead to the country's first freedom-of-information law. And it suggests the highly secretive government plans to make available to the press and public a wider range of documents than is now the case.

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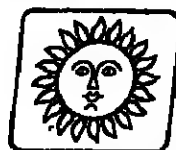
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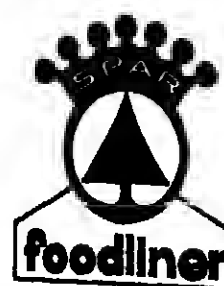
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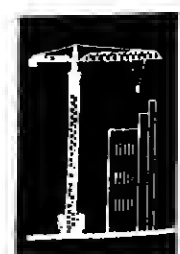
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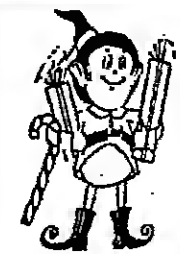
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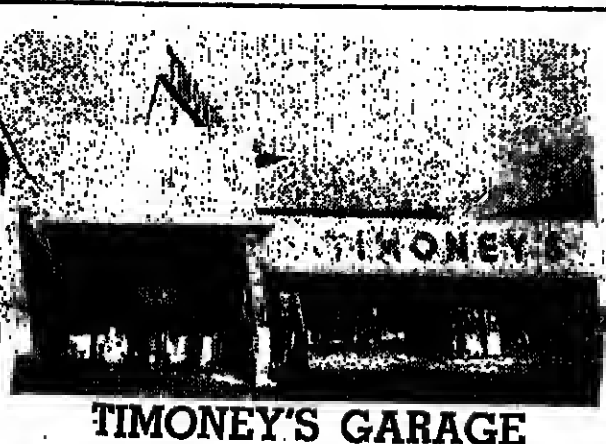
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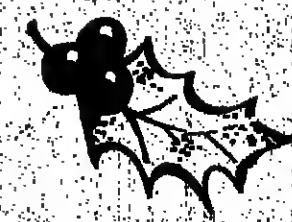


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Demonstrations for total amnesty continue...



...as some of those already pardoned begin the trek home



Giral: a leader for liberty

Camacho: a Communist organizer works

Juan Carlos: the King holds key to reconciliation

Spain: from dictatorship to democracy

With his proclamations of partial amnesty, King Juan Carlos set Spain on the road to reconciliation. More and more Spaniards are returning from jail or exile, and many are speaking out.

By Joe Gandelman

Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

One year ago tensions and hatreds peaked in Spain as the government of General Francisco Franco cracked down on dissenters.

On Sept. 28, 1976, five men convicted of terrorism were executed by firing squad — an act of repression that plunged Spain into a period of diplomatic isolation as rigid as any experienced since the immediate post World War II years.

Now, under Franco's successor, King Juan Carlos, Spaniards are returning from long exiles, leaving jail, and speaking out.

On Nov. 30 last year, in one of his first acts after ascending the throne, the King pardoned 5,626 nonpolitical prisoners. By July 30 this year he granted amnesty to 500 political prisoners, leaving in jail only those convicted of terrorism or of acts related to terrorism. Opposition leaders are demanding a full amnesty.

A labor organizer speaks out

Labor leader Marcelino Camacho Abad, who was among those pardoned last November. Altogether, he had spent nearly 10 years in jail. Mr. Camacho lives in suburban Carabanchel, far from the maximum security prison where he was jailed. He is a key organizer of illegal communist-dominated workers' commissions and a political force these days.

In Spain, for the first time in history, a fascist regime is being ended without military intervention and by pressures of workers. "In Italy, Portugal, and Germany, the end came by military intervention," he says. "In Spain, we have zones of liberty within zones of fascism."

The nation now demands us a prelude to reconciliation: total amnesty. Right now, more than half the political prisoners remain jailed. [Other estimates are much lower.] And jailed veteran communist leaders Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri are not allowed back.

"It is not only a humanitarian thing, but also political. In Spain we have been killing ourselves off for 39 years. The victims have usually been workers. For us, amnesty is an important part of history, not a gift. It represents the country preparing for the future as the dictatorship dies."

A week after his pardon, Mr. Camacho was arrested by police for unspecified provocative acts, but was quickly freed again. Last spring he was detained for several months for belonging to the opposition alliance, the Democratic Coordination, which now is tolerated.

War veterans return

As towns in another suburb, another labor leader of another generation has returned from exile in other countries. Mr. Pelraiz spent his 37-year exile in Latin America, the United States, and France. He crossed the border into France in 1930, as the Republic collapsed. Later, he joined the liberation movement. Mr. Pelraiz is a famous veteran (since 1921) of the CNT, the anarchoist union important in the civil war but later dismantled by General Franco. Mr. Pelraiz is a historian hailed by the new generation.

Consular officials haggled over Mr. Pelraiz's status. He was considered a republican civil-war refugee (as a former anti-Franco exile (security risk) who had been exiled (risk) or Latin America (safe)?

On July 31, a patrol took Mr. Pelraiz and his wife to the Pyrenees from Bordeaux, France, to Barcelona, where he had returned sooner. "I was never afraid to re-join Mr. Pelraiz. But I did not want to return to Spain as a person who symbolized the dictatorship lived. When he died, I felt free to come back. It was all a matter of time. Now I have returned — with honor."

60 fled in 1939

Today little honor under Franco. In 1939, 600,000 fled. Since 200,000 later returned. Most went to Mexico. Many of the 80,000 who went to Mexico became Mexicans.

Spain's victory diminished vanquished. Self-styled "anti-Communism" destroyed the works of exiled artists. Franco-era Basque exiles soon returned. Many were welcomed with hostility. Some were welcomed with hostility. Some were welcomed with hostility.

who stayed away were attended by necessary re-education. So, this January when then Foreign Minister de Arellano visited in Paris "no discrimination" in exiles quickly formed "assemblies" to turn that into reality. Franco-era Basque exiles soon returned. Many were welcomed with hostility. Some were welcomed with hostility.

Today, he has no passport, identification card, or driver's license. He must first obtain a "good conduct certificate" from police. Madrid lawyers charge some released prisoners are being denied such certificates and therefore cannot get jobs.

Nevertheless, Mr. Lara is cautiously optimistic. "It's a new life," he says. "I'm a photographer, in an independent profession. I'm good they use my photos; if not, I have problems."

He says people have changed in the last 14 months. "Every one is more politicized now. Political party [activity] are all over the walls in the metro. In one neighborhood people de-

Francisco Giral is "disappointed over hypocrisy, lies, and deceit." Mr. Giral, a chemistry professor with honorary professorships from throughout Latin America, left Spain on March 29, 1939, and vowed not to return until Franco was gone and liberty back. His father, José, was president of the Mexico-based Spanish government-in-exile, recognized only by Mexico and Yugoslavia.

Since his return three months ago, Mr. Giral has concluded liberty is still scarce. "The republicans have given a cry of anguish, but no one hears our cry," he says. "We cry for liberty in capital letters — liberty! But [Madrid] won't let us speak of liberty."

On a wide next to Ernest Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls," is a Spanish newsweekly with a picture of Mr. Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria of civil war fame) on the cover. He points to the magazine: "This is one of the really big lies — that Spain must choose between American capitalism or Carrillo's socialism. It is forbidden to pronounce the Republic's name in Spain. Really free men cannot express their thoughts. We are the real opposition."

According to Mr. Giral, Mexican President-Elect López Portillo assured the republican government-in-exile Mexico will not reestablish relations with Madrid until they can "return with honor." But, he says, this is not yet possible since Madrid opposes a political party named "republican," though it would approve one masked under a different name. He rejects that notion.

Yet Mexican leaders talk about closer relations with Madrid and their "proud Spanish heritage." And a republican party in Madrid is like the two exiled communists: an unwelcome symbol of the civil war. Madrid's chief concern is soothing opponents among the 70 percent of Spain under 40, the new generation.

A Basque is optimistic

"The amnesty was really an insult [deceit] aimed specifically at certain opposition sectors negotiating with the government. A true amnesty excludes no one." The speaker: José María Lara, a young Madrid-born Basque who belongs to the violent military-political wing of the Basque separatist ETA. The ETA wants to merge the various Basque leftist forces into a political party.

Mr. Lara was among the first released under new Supreme Court guidelines broadening the King's amnesty of political prisoners beyond the original 500. Political court magistrates can decide "political intent." If no one was directly endangered, a prisoner may be set free. Fourteen months ago police discovered machine guns in Mr. Lara's house. On this and other charges, including illegal association, the sentence was 21 years.

Today, he has no passport, identification card, or driver's license. He must first obtain a "good conduct certificate" from police. Madrid lawyers charge some released prisoners are being denied such certificates and therefore cannot get jobs.

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He says people have changed in the last 14 months. "Every one is more politicized now. Political party [activity] are all over the walls in the metro. In one neighborhood people de-

mond more light, in another more water. Everywhere there are more and more people on the streets."

But Mr. Lara warns peace and tranquility are unlikely for the Basque country until the paramilitary Civil Guard, the Brigada Social (secret police), and "those responsible" for the torture are withdrawn. Before the amnesty was broadened Basque political prisoners were serving a composite sentence of 3,000 years. The intensity of police-Basque battles still complicates the amnesty's impact and application.

Francisco-era courts

Lawyers of political prisoners argue Franco-era courts were "simply theaters where judges were puppets" and defendants were denied due process. "Violence was used, they assert, against a fascist system in which peaceful action was both ineffective and useless." Thus, keeping terrorists jailed only "ratifies" the Francoists' trials and system. As one lawyer put it: "Amnesty-liberty is one word. A real amnesty must ensure that those leaving jail can never be sent back in the same manner."

The Franco regime denied the existence of political prisoners altogether. It claimed jails held only violators of penal, military, and common criminal codes.

Lawyers contend the outlook for the 33 prisoners left in Carabanchel prison is grim due to what Mr. Camacho calls "a spirit of revenge remaining in certain sectors." He explains, "It would be dangerous to think fascism has disappeared. Its presence continues."

Even so, Mr. Camacho says, "The prospect of a right-wing coup will decrease every day as it already is decreasing." He is confident the Spanish people will weather crises he predicts will lead to the present Cabinet's downfall, a total amnesty, and a formation of a provisional government.

A 'new' Spain

Mr. Pelraiz, too, has faith in the "new" Spain. "The people are amazing," he says. "Spain has an immense youth sector — a new generation that knows nothing about the civil war is inspired by Western ideas, and wants these ideas to arrive here, in our country. I am very hopeful. Spain today is a nation of young people who believe in the future."

The partial amnesty and returning exiles are helping make Spain whole again. Still, the transition is expected to be rocky. The situation is highly fluid.

One thing seems certain: the future of reconciliation will remain hitched to King Juan Carlos, who is opposed by both rightists (who want Francoism back) and leftists (who want a republic; not a monarchy).

"The King has the right image," explains a leading moderate opposition leader. "He is young, has blue eyes, speaks English, and is King of a country noted for its castles. The Queen is beautiful, intelligent, and independent. The King wears a uniform, which pleases the Pentagon. He salutes well. None of this avoids the fact that it is going to be very difficult to cross the bridge from dictatorship to democracy."

Mr. Pelraiz, for one, is skeptical about the King. "I don't usually think about him," he says carefully. "Republicans and liberals do not always believe the King changes the dog."

But that is so old and popular saying in Spain. Today most Spaniards can say what they please — and they can say it with honor.

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United States

Ford and Carter: how much did they know?

Ford: pressed by Nixon to halt Patman probe?

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
"I do not remember discussing those allegations with anybody on the White House staff in 1972."

This was the statement on Watergate of minority leader Gerald Ford to Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D) of New York in his confirmation hearings for the vice-presidency in November, 1973.

The "allegations" were charges that the Nixon administration was cognizant of the Watergate break-in which the late Rep. Wright Patman sought to investigate before his Banking Committee in a pre-election inquiry in 1972. On Oct. 3, 1972, the committee refused chairman Patman subpoena power and the inquiry ended; Mr. Ford agrees that he helped organize committee Republicans to halt the inquiry but denies that he was pressured by the White House.

At his televised press conference here Oct. 14 President Ford twice repeated his "don't remember" reply of November, 1973, and Watergate special prosecutor Charles F. Ruff, Oct. 15 declined to reopen the matter, or hear unpublished Nixon White House tapes.

In 1973 testimony before the Ervin committee, former Nixon counsel John Dean declared that blocking the Patman inquiry was one of the more successful features of the Watergate cover-up, a charge that he recently has repeated in a book.

The courts forced Mr. Nixon to release Watergate tapes, one of Sept. 15, 1972, of a meeting between the President, H. R. Holdeman, and Mr. Dean on strategy to sidetrack the Patman inquiry. Mr. Ford is not really taking an active interest in this matter, that is developing, so Stans (Maurice Stans, secretary of commerce) can go see Jerry Ford and try to brief him and explain to him the problems he's got.

President — "Jerry could talk to him. Put it down" (probably an instruction to Holdeman). "Uh, Jerry should talk to Wideman and uh, just brace him. Tell him I thought it was [unintelligible] sort behaving."

Dean — "That would be very helpful to get our minority side at least together on this thing."
President — "Jerry has really got to lead on this. He's got to be really [unintelligible]."
President — "Right, just tell him that, tell, tell, tell Ehrlichman to get Brown to, and Ford in, and then they can all work out something. But they ought to... push it. No use to let Patman have a free ride here."

In his vice-presidential confirmation hearings Mr. Ford was sharply questioned by Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D) of West Virginia, assistant majority leader, on his motives for helping to block the Patman inquiry. Were these motives, he asked, "born of your feeling, or at least your feelings as expressed to anyone, that such an investigation would be harmful to the President, harmful to his chances of re-election, or harmful to your party?"

Mr. Ford — "The answer is no, Senator Byrd."

On Sept. 15, 1972, White House strategy meeting, Mr. Holdeman kept detailed notes: "E" stood for Ehrlichman, and "P" for the President. He wrote:

"Must get minority together raise hell re jeopardizing defenses."

"P can't talk to you but it must be done."

"Get Garry Brown and Ford in."

In the next few weeks in 1972 Mr. Ford called a series of meetings of the minority members of the Patman committee; he said that he "presided at the meetings."

At his televised press conference Thursday (Oct. 14), Mr. Ford was twice asked about Watergate, for example, whether, as Mr. Dean now alleges, he "did discuss at times with Mr. Cook the matter of blocking 'the Patman Watergate inquiry.' . . . You said you did not recollect such discussions. Do you now recollect discussions with Mr. Cook on that subject?"

Mr. Ford did not answer directly. To the second question he replied:

"I will give you exactly the same answer I gave to the House committee and the Senate committee" [in confirmation hearings]. . . . "The matter was fully investigated by those two committees and I think that is a satisfactory answer: I am not going to pass judgment on what Mr. Dean now alleges."

A funny thing happened on the way to the White House.

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'Dirty tricks' in '70 Georgia race linked to Carter staff

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta
Mounting evidence has linked Jimmy Carter's 1970 campaign for governor of Georgia to a series of "dirty tricks" against his principal opponent.

But those who make the charges don't say Mr. Carter personally knew about the smear campaign.

A well-informed source has confirmed to this newspaper that Carter staff members in 1970 produced a flyer with a photograph showing his opponent, former Gov. Carl Sanders, being doused with champagne by a black basketball player.

The "champagne shampoo" flyer was distributed in south Georgia to white barbershops and beauty parlors, service stations, and among white ministers who might take offense at the photograph. It was also handed out during a Ku Klux Klan rally.

The flyer was one of three specific actions with which the 1970 Carter campaign has been accused in various articles since the first of the year. Those making the charges have included Ray Abernathy and Dorothy Wood, former vice-presidents of an ad agency headed by Gerald Rafshoon, media specialist for the Carter campaign.

Carter officials were also linked with a "smear" sheet that attempted to damage Mr. Sanders in the black community.

In addition, Mr. Carter has been accused of concealing his 1970 campaign contributors. He moved to head off that criticism Oct. 17 when he released a 329-page compilation of contributors during that race.

When the charge about the champagne flyer surfaced in the national press in *Livestock*'s magazine, Jody Powell, the Carter press secretary, dismissed it as "another piece of trivia." He pointed out that the photograph of Mr. Sanders had already appeared in the sports section of the Atlanta Journal.

However, this newspaper has obtained additional confirmation that the flyer was, in fact, secretly turned out and distributed by Carter officials.

This confirmation comes atop news from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which links the Rafshoon agency with another of the 1970 actions — an attempt to smear Mr. Sanders in the black community.

A former part-time artist for the Rafshoon agency, Carl Pedersen, says he was instructed

In 1970 to throw cartoons for a pamphlet to link Mr. Sanders to the black prison inmate to a duck pond.

Mr. Pedersen says he was told to do cartoons by top officials of the agency. Mr. Pedersen said he believed the pamphlet was distributed to black communities in other parts of Georgia as well as to boxes of the pamphlets were stored at the shoon agency, he says.

Mr. Rafshoon, who also handles Mr. Carter's presidential media effort, has denied any involvement in what the Post-Dispatch called "the black smear campaign."

None of those who have charged the Carter campaign with responsibility for the tactics suggest that Mr. Carter himself was what was happening.

Ray Abernathy, who first raised the issue in the Harper's article in March, doubts that Mr. Carter knew about the Carter campaign was decentralized, and it may have been the work of staff people.

Some responsibility for the tactics to Mr. Carter's press secretary, Mr. Pope, according to several sources.

Dorothy Wood, who wrote all of the Carter and TV commercials for the Carter campaign in 1970, says the champagne flyer was attributed to several thousand places around the state. Mr. Pope was one of those, she says, who brought the leaflets to campaign headquarters for distribution. He also was in charge of printing them, she says.

The Rafshoon agency provided her a large office, Mrs. Wood says, and for her son Mr. Pope used her office to store the leaflets.

Alon Goodman, who also worked for the shoon agency in 1970, confirms that several marked boxes of the champagne leaflets kept in a storage room at the agency.

Mr. Goodman says Mr. Abernathy was that the flyers were being stored in the Carter office because one of the agency's clients might see them there. But the leaflets, and frequently someone from the Carter staff would arrive to pick up the flyers, he says.

The entire operation was part of what Mr. Goodman says Mr. Sanders called a "smear" sheet. He says Mr. Sanders was sponded in kind with "smear" sheets, but the Carter forces were too quick to react.

"For instance, during the runoff race, the Sanders people started fighting back with their own brand of smear leaflets. Jimmy's mother's being a member of the [Congress of Racial Equality]. They were finding them all over the state on airplanes. They found out which flights they were on, and people went to the airport to take delivery, dumped them in the river," Mr. Goodman says.

Refugee children in custody battle

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
Dung, Hein, and Tan, three young Vietnamese boys rushed to the United States in the final days of the war, are adapting well to American life. They have learned to swim, play Little League baseball, and build model airplanes. Their foster parents, Dennis and Margaret Arvidson of Highland, Michigan, want to keep them.

But in Mt. Angel, Oregon, their paternal grandmother who helped raise them and who arrived in the U.S. just after the children, wants them back.

In Fairfield, Connecticut, six-year-old Vu Anh Tuan and seven-year-old Vu Huy Khan have been given new names (Mark and Paul) by their foster father, Richard Lucas, a harbor, who wants to keep them. But their natural mother is in the U.S. and wants them back.

All these children and at least five others are caught up in tug-of-war custody battles which may be followed by many more over the final status of some of the approximately 2,000 Vietnamese brought to the U.S. near the end of the war as part of "Operation Baby Lift."

Vietnamese families loved in these and the few earlier cases argued that they never would have relinquished custody if they had not feared for the lives of the children. U.S. foster families, on the other hand, say that they can provide adequate homes for the children and have gone through the normal adoption procedures.

But in the cases already decided, the courts have sided with the natural families. Last month, for example, the Iowa Supreme Court, admitting that "someone must be hurt," took a four-year-old Vietnamese boy away from an Iowa couple and returned him to his Vietnamese mother, who is living in Great Falls, Minnesota.

Federal court-appointed experts in a case now on appeal in San Francisco found that a large number of Vietnamese children are "incapable of forming attachments" because there was insufficient documentation in their files showing them as orphans, or because living parents or relatives had not given full release for their adoption. Most states use similar criteria for adoptions; nonetheless, adoptions of the children are proceeding. Few of the natural parents or relatives have managed to reach the U.S. Even those who have and want to find their children may not be able to.

Mrs. Ilao Thi Popp, of Newbury Park, California, natural mother of the two children living with Mr. Lucas, says she and her American husband searched for nine months before they

found the youngsters. They repeatedly sought but failed to get assistance in their search, they say, from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which keeps track of refugees' locations.

"I thought I would never see them again," said Mrs. Popp. Explaining why she signed adoption release papers for the children when in Vietnam, she said: "I wanted to save my children."

In June, the Poppes seized the two children and flew back to California with them. Later they agreed to return them to Mr. Lucas.

In the Michigan case, an attorney for the foster parents argued that the children's best interests are served in a family where they will have parents instead of just a grandmother. (and an uncle).

But "an underlying and implicit racism" is involved in many of the custody cases, said Aryeh Nelor, executive vice-president of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose lawyers have defended the Vietnamese families in some of the cases. It is, he contends, racist to argue that "if these children are placed with nice, decent Americans and the children can become members of Little League baseball and enjoy American life, it's somehow bad for the Vietnamese to take them [since] they have a very different style of life."

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U.S. crown for British racing-car driver

S. African up to his elbows in hot wax, cold dyes and gold medals

During an archaeological dig in the ruins of ancient Greece in a student in 1968, he discovered a piece of silk, which was later identified as a piece of silk, expressed by art of the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. Some of their influence is seen in the work of the "Agnaritis Museum". It was the result of research, followed by two years of actual work to produce the silk, which has an almost three-dimensional texture. It is produced by using a special weaving method - by using a special cloth, whereas the cloth is not woven by wax. Light is the preferred material, and silk is also possible.

His elbows in hot and gold medals

Who?

It has been an exciting year for the Hunt versus Lauda battle as well as down to the wire after 18 events on the major continent of the globe. Ferrari had hoped the U.S. Grand Prix would be the world champion for this year, but it was the season finale in Japan. Lauda has worked long and hard and overcome the obstacles of his own, including a serious injury, but Hunt seems to be the man who will come, and as he demonstrated to the Watkins Glen crowd, he's fully worthy of the next world championship.

'Moral' foreign policy depends on who's talking

The primary charge leveled by Democrats

The call for a "more moral content" in American foreign policy was first used against President Ford and Dr. Kissinger by the Reagan forces during the Republican primary campaign. They succeeded in injecting a so-called "moral" clause into the Republican platform. Since Mr. Reagan made some political mileage out of this line of attack, it has obviously recommended itself to the Carter forces who have been echoing it ever since the main campaign opened.

But would Mr. Carter as President actually attempt a total blockades of the Arab countries in the event of another Arab oil embargo? The question is unlikely to arise, but even if it did, Mr. Carter would hardly choose a road that would drive the whole Arab world and much of Islam with it into the welcoming embrace of

A Ford victory on Election Day would, of course, mean total continuity in American foreign policy. A Carter victory would certainly mean a cooler tone toward the Soviet Union and, in theory, harder bargaining with Moscow. In practice it would mean an end to talk of détente, but the pursuit in other language of the goals of Kissinger policy, in theory also the goals would be pursued openly, not "secretly." This is standard rhetoric in all American political campaigns. It is meaningless.

*Moscow-Peking test

Instead they see its significance in the implication of a definite time limit - and in the impression given that the new Chinese leader, Hua Kuo-feng, really cannot expect Moscow to keep its tone of sweet reasonableness intact indefinitely in the face of continued vehement

Moscow has taken the opportunity to sign a border treaty with Mongolia. Observers believe this could be an implicit warning to China not to start any border trouble and a reminder that Mongolia's strategic territory remains firmly within the Soviet camp.

★Gallup poll astonishes Gallup

The most powerful political issue this year is the economy, Mr. Gallup says. Economic prob-

Former Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox, running as a candidate for the American Independent Party, appears so weak politically that it is unlikely he will have an important impact on the election, the Gallup poll indicates.

★Cairo may cosy up to Moscow

The Cairo newspaper Al-Ahram reported from Washington that both the State Department and the Pentagon assured Egyptian Ambassador Ashraf Ghorbal that they had known nothing in advance of the Ford-Israel transaction.

Other Cairo papers headlined this together with news of the stormy reaction in the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Gen. George Brown's remark about U.S. arms aid to Israel being a burden.

From page 1

★ **Mini's in again**

of variety, in which what women wear will be dictated much less by buyers in Paris, New York, Chicago or Los Angeles and much more by women themselves.

The mode this year," said a designer from one big Paris house, "will be for women to wear whatever they want."

Skirt-lengths are expected to vary virtuously all the way up and down the leg, and couturiers are even coming up with short skirts that can be worn by themselves or over longer ones or jeans.

★ Is Britain a rich country badly managed?

As for the application to the International Monetary Fund for a massive standby credit, this will be used in part to replace unreliable

As for North Sea oil, the Under-Secretary of State for Energy, Mr. Cunningham, has disclosed a little-known fact: that this oil was now flowing at the rate of more than one million tons a month. "From 100,000 tons of oil in 1970 to 100-million tons in 1983 is a remarkable success story and one which is perhaps still not given due weight in assessing Britain's economic position," Mr. Cunningham told a London audience.

Meanwhile bids are now in for the exploitation of another 59 blocks of North Sea seabed. The British National Oil Company has a right to 51 percent of each concession granted, which has the effect of subsidizing the foreign oil exploiter to an extent unobtainable anywhere else in the world. North Sea prospecting has proved a remarkable sure thing: one success in every three attempts, on average, compared with about one in twenty in most other offshore zones. There was a record of 24 finds in the North Sea in 1975; followed by at least 16 more this year.

home/children

Morning rush: learning time

By Marian H. Carlson

When our son David started kindergarten, he always had to be ready in time no matter how early he got up. The rush turned into a hassle and then almost an inquisition: "Why isn't your hair combed? Why didn't you make your bed?" etc.

After several weeks of this unhappy morning routine, I stopped to analyze how

Parent and child

we could improve. It didn't take long to realize that I was expecting a five-year-old to be accountable for a demanding schedule that he was not yet accustomed to.

I had wanted to teach him the importance of being on time, but I hadn't taken enough practical steps to help him learn. Certainly five-year-olds know how to do things for themselves, but these activities, when compressed into a shorter space of time, require more thought and skill. We talked about this problem as a family and came up with several ideas that not only solved the morning rush, but turned it into a learning experience.

A check list, posted on David's closet door, encouraged his independence. Its five steps included:

- Get dressed.
- Comb hair.
- Make bed.
- Eat breakfast.
- Smile.

Each step was accompanied with an illustration of the activity. He could follow each step on the list independently and at the same time learn to read new words. We also made a clock from pressed wood, cardboard, and adhesive numbers. The clock was set for departure time and placed next to the kitchen clock. We could easily compare the two clocks while eating breakfast and calculate how many minutes were left until school. This activity sparked a continued interest in telling time.

MONITOR RECIPE

Fish for a light dish

Roiled and Baked Lemon Sole

Butter
Bread crumbs
4 ounces melted butter
¼ teaspoon salt
¼ teaspoon ground white pepper
1-2 tablespoons lemon juice
2 cups lemon sole
1 cup sour cream or milk
½ cup bread crumbs
Finely chopped parsley

Butter an ovenproof 8-by-8-inch baking dish. Sprinkle with bread crumbs and set aside.

In a small bowl mix melted butter, salt, pepper, and lemon juice. Dip fish slices in this mixture, roll and fasten with toothpicks.

Set the rolls side by side into the prepared baking dish, sprinkle with sour cream or milk, bread crumbs, and chopped parsley. Bake in a preheated oven at 375 degrees F. for about 15 to 20 minutes or until top is lightly browned.

Remove toothpicks and serve plain hot.

Footprints of young explorers

Pre-teens around the world are invited to send in their explorations on any subjects they choose. They can be poems, very short stories, drawings, or favorite hobbies. Those items we don't have room for will be returned if you include a stampad, self-addressed envelope. Send to Children's Page, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.

Life as a Periwinkle

Life as a Periwinkle
is rather dull.
For the tide is out twice a day.
You have to hide.
It's very hard to find a place.
So I usually hide in some seaweed.
For there I can eat
My favorite meal.
I come out of my shell
Whenever I like.
And I go back in
Whenever I please.
Closing my door behind me.

Lisa Cromwell, 11
Gloucester, England

All things free

Wilderness is my place,
The place of my happiness,
My joy, my endless love,
The love of all things free.

The joy of life is no joy,
Without the joy of freedom,
Freedom of the mind and speech,
and the love of all things free.

The colors of the rainbow,
The droplets of the rain,
All are pieces of this world,
A world in which there's love
for all things free.

Caren Irt, 10
Needham, Massachusetts

The day I went to Mars

One day in the field I found a rocket. I got inside. The door shut, and the rocket took off. I didn't know where we were going. Later on I wanted some food; I was hungry. I found a label marked in big letters LUNCH. I opened up the box and found bread, milk, potato chips, and a salam. I made myself a big lunch and ate. Just then we landed. I got out and saw a sign labeled MARS. I took a step down and a Mars car hit me. The car came back and the driver was red, white, and blue. I was so scared I jumped into the rocket, blasted off, almost fell out, ate dinner and landed in the field and got hit by an earth bicycle. Then I ran home.

Marlin West, 8
Washington, Michigan

Mr. Spock & Captain Kirk



Selby Estes, 7
Swampscott, Massachusetts

At the top of a mountain



Francisco M. Pina
Lisbon, Portugal

Halloween night

It was dark and a
ghost came by.
I looked and I saw a
witch in the sky.
If you look very carefully
there's a goblin behind that
tree. But don't you say
they didn't come to life.

Deborah Kay Dodson, 8
Marquette, Illinois

The plea of the earth

Pence my brother, I am your friend,
But you will destroy me in the end.
I have given you green grass and trees
I have not given it for you to spoil.
But to enjoy and in beautiful
Yet you pollute my grass, river and air.
Stop your wars and throw away your
Or else it will be too late.
If you don't you will see;
Not only will you destroy yourselves,
but you will destroy me.

Ghazale Hamed
Staten Island, New York

The seed

How does it grow?
This little seed,
how does it know
to become a tree,
a flower,
or a rose?
How does it know?

Dawn Davis
San Luis Obispo, California

Grass

Grass
soft, green
large green pillow
looks very, very pretty
Lawn
Pam Parrish, 11
Sahuarita, Arizona

God's world

God made this world for you and me.
I love this world as far as I see.
He made all the beauty to be.
He created it all — flower after flower
and tree after tree.
God made this world I'm so glad
He made it good not bad.
I'm so happy it's this way — not sad.
I'm glad!

Dina Walker, 12
Winter Park, Florida

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education/science

Animals at school

By Ward Morhouse III

Zoomobiles are going to U.S. schools — taking bears, wolves, rabbits, turtles, ducks, and skunks to elementary classes, where children can meet the creatures close up instead of behind bars.

Zoos and even some circuses are busying animals to schools to help erase some of the many misconceptions about wild animals that crop up from movies and books.

Children are being taught for instance, that the baby black bear can bite as hard as a Great Dane and that in the wild there is really no "big bad wolf" or little good wolf.

"It's not a matter of being good or bad in the animal world," says John Bechman of the Idaho Fish and Game Department. "That's what is now being presented to kids — that wolves, for instance, are neither good nor bad; wolves are wolves. They eat deer, but they eat deer to live."

Mr. Bechman says the Boise, Idaho, city zoo last spring took a little black bear to school to emphasize the fact that they are wild animals and not to be picked up in the wild.

Wolf to school

The Deuchans have raised a wolf since he was 10 days old, and he will go to school this fall as part of the Boise Zoo children's program.

In New York, the Bronx Zoo's "outreach program" sends wild animals to day care centers, nursing homes, and the Institute for the Blind, as well as schools. "But we do not take out many of the exotic species," says Wayne King, Bronx Zoo animal manager. Richard Latta, director of the Bronx children's zoo, says the outreach program is aimed at children who cannot get to the zoo. Recently this program has been expanded to include weekend trips.

Although many animal protectionists are unhappy that wild animals are put in zoos in the first place, a spokeswoman for a national animal protection group feels the Bronx Zoo's zoomobile is a "good educational program."

"What you should do is show that this creature behaves this way and not that way," says Marion Probst of the Fund for Animals. "... a bear's not meant to ride a bicycle in circles. To me that takes away the dignity of bears."

The San Diego Zoo buses red foxes, owls, and other wild creatures to every elementary school in the city to give children a better understanding of America's vanishing wilderness.

Roston's Franklin Park Zoo has a zoomobile.

Circus bears

Two circus bears, 21-month-old Chole, a Eurasian brown bear, and four-month-old Ruby, an American black bear, are going to schools in the Florida, Oregon with a message as well as tricks.

Although the bears are with Florida's Circus World, owned by the Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus, bear trainers Michael and Janice Arta say such tricks as sitting in classroom seats are only a small part of their show.

After some tricks, there is a 20-minute discussion of the bears' habitat, what they eat, and how they react to people. "Then we ask people to ask us questions," Mr. Arta says. "People are brought up thinking of bears as cute, lazy animals. But they are very unpredictable; they are not for pets." Mr. Arta often rolls up his sleeves to show people the scratches on his arms inflicted by 20-pound Ruby.

The Artas were taking bears to people before they were hired by the circus. They feel their circus work will give them more opportunity to give others an understanding of wild animals.



Killer whale No. 2 with radio transmitter. Keeping track of whales as they roam the seven seas — satellites may listen for far-flung bleeps

Radio-beeping whales advise scientists

By David F. Saltzberg

Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Satellites soon may be keeping watch on the whales of the world and revealing something of their mysterious life cycles.

The Marine Mammal Commission is considering such a possibility in the wake of a radio-

logging experiment on killer whales.

A University of Washington professor, Dr. Al Erickson, has received a number of sitting reports of at least one of two killer whales to which he attached small radio transmitters last April. And late in September he picked up the radio's beeping signal in the San Juan Islands in the mouth of Puget Sound but was not able to locate the whale.

"We have been very encouraged by Dr. Erickson's results," says Robert Hoffman of the Marine Mammal Commission which funded this work.

A year needed

According to Dr. Hoffman, the longest that a whale or dolphin has been radio-tagged previously is nine months. But at least a year is needed to study a full cycle in the life of the world's largest mammals, he says.

Now the commission is considering a satellite sensing system which could track whales with radio-packs around the globe. This could be used not only with killer whales, but also on the great whales, says the government scientists.

For instance, the gray whale has been intensively studied. "We have a fair idea of their numbers," reports Dr. Hoffman, "but we know little about their seasonal migration routes, or their breeding habits." Radio-tagging some of these whales and tracking them by satellite could supply this information. It also could reveal more details about the social life of these elusive creatures.

It is only in the last year or so that scientists have determined that killer whales, which some have begun calling Orcas, roam in stable "pods." These pods consist of four adult members, both males and females, and an assortment of younger animals.

Conclusions confirmed

This was the conclusion of research by Michael Biggs of the Canadian Fisheries Service in British Columbia. It has been confirmed by an independent study done by Ken Balcomb of the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service in Seattle.

"The social behavior of killer whales is extremely interesting," says Dale Rice, a U.S. Fisheries Service whale expert. Both adult males and females appear to be permanent members of a pod, which is unique in the whale world, he says.

According to Dr. Erickson, the small radio pack was designed by engineers at the University of Minnesota, who have done similar work with other animals. The pack was attached to the dorsal fin of two animals with surgical plus.

Last spring, his work was part of a major controversy. The whales he tagged were from a pod captured by Sea World, a large aquarium operator. The capture, which took place in lower Puget Sound, caused a storm of controversy in western Washington state. As a result, it appears that no more killer whales will be captured in this area, says Dr. Hoffman.

The stars help earthquake watchers

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Pasadena, California

Geodesists at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory here have turned to the heavens to learn more about earthquakes.

With a telescope mounted on wheels, they have used some of the most distant lights in the sky, quasars, to fix the relative position of points on earth within a few centimeters. Quasars are very bright objects, some of which are near the edge of the observable universe.

The project is called ARIES, short for "astronomical radio interferometric earth surveying." Recently the scientists involved in it have turned their attention to the "Palmdale bubble," a 40-by-100 kilometer area along the San Andreas fault centered on Palmdale, California, which has risen 30 centimeters.

Such an uplift may be an early sign that an earthquake is developing. So this area is being heavily instrumented and monitored since its discovery several months ago.

Traditional geodetic techniques involved surveyors

equipped with transits and chains. By minute steps, distances and elevations were measured and marked. In this way, reference networks were painstakingly built up. In recent years, laser beams flashing from mountaintops have replaced the old surveying methods. Yet, the process of mapping the planet remains slow and expensive.

"We have gone almost full circle," says Peter F. MacDoran, ARIES project manager. "In the old days people used the stars as a frame of reference. Then they turned to other technologies like compasses, radio stations, and satellites. Now we are going back to the heavens."

Earth's surface is steadily and continually changing. To get the accuracy required to map this restless movement, the driving force which results in earthquakes, a fixed point of reference is needed. Even that seemingly most constant of stars, the North Star, moves too much relative to Earth for this purpose.

Quasars, billions of light years away, provide virtually unchanging reference points. Because quasars "shine" at radio wavelengths as well as emit light, sensitive radio antennae can pick up their signals day or night, whether the sky is cloudy or clear, says Dr. MacDoran.

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[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

New Hampshire hiker in a 'tunnel' of fall foliage



Bumble bee,
my mountaineer,
in gold turnoose
and mica wings —

what venture brings
you buzzing here
for all you're worth
so penthouse high —

when clover grows
so down to earth?

Other loitering
lithe by other
afloat yet moored
in a noose of kelp
whose roots pertain
to earth upholding
water:

lingering, king
and queen aboard
this royal barge
rowed by a trance
of ears through standstill
distances:

levitating
on buoyant currents
rocking, ruling
the benthic dark,
supine, close-
rafted together,
a noctilucous
cloud-coil looped
at large:

trusting our weight
to water, to water's
weed.



Robin, I hear
over the bus-drag,
under the plane-drona,
calling direct
from the leafless top
of the tallest alanthua —
demanding my ear.

I give it, give also
my leaden complaints
for you to juggle
like alneph notes
at the tip of your tunings,
then fling them back to me
sanguine as you.

A modern bestiary

Poems by Norma Farbar
Drawings by Marle Angel



Snail begets snail —
the size of a nail —
with a head like a fall —
in a park — in a pail —
in bouquets — in a bole —
on the back of a whale —
in the beak of a quail —
down a riverside dale —
under canvas sail —
in a calm — in a gale —
let it blow — let it hail —
let it shine — let it pole —
male — female —
in jungles — in jail —
in shavings — in shale —
near carrels — near knle —
even sent through the mail —
leaving a trail —
like a Turkish well —
on a road — on a trail —
on a fisherman's scale.

It cannot fail.
Snail begets snail.

Hummingbird, hoverer, helicopter,
high-speed hundred-per-second
wing-striker, honey-sucker, hue-changer,
holder of heaven-hurled light
in spectral colors:

how do I count the ways
you shift in whisks of brilliance
from dim of green to gold
of green, or bronze, depending,
or black from certain angles
but switching, n burst to emerald,
or violet blending to purple
and back to darkness, dullness,
no-color, no claim, uncommitted —

how do I value the jewels
your feathers are set to flash
to sheen of ruby, topaz,
absent a fraction of blink
ago, fragments vanished
just now in splits of instant
but promised again by sun,
celestial interferer,
who plays upon your presence
over and over because
you move, you move, you move
the twinkling of my eye.

Tortoise of Sussex
famous old fellow of Gilbert Whila's journals,
Timothy, Mrs. Sooke's long-lived
infallible weather-forecaster:

"For though it has a shell that would secure it
against the wheel of a loaded cart —
yet does it discover as much solitude about rain
as a lady dressed in all her best attire,
shuffling away on the first sprinklings,
and running its head up in a corner.
If attended to, it becomes an excellent weather-
for as sure as it walks elala,
and as it wera on tiptoe,
feeding with great earnestness in a morning,
so sure will it rain before night."

So much for science. A curious twist:
tortoise as meteorologist.



Drawings courtesy of The Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts



Dormouse, dormouse,
cold on the ground,
curled in a coma
half the year round.

Missing November,
frost on the fronds,
rime on the fences,
lee on the ponds.

Missing December,
carols, and cheer.
Missing a blizzard —
thou best of the year!

Dormouse, dormouse,
cold on the ground,
curled in a coma
half the year round.

Missing November,
frost on the fronds,
rime on the fences,
lee on the ponds.

Missing December,
carols, and cheer.
Missing a blizzard —
thou best of the year!

Oh happy dogs of England

I have just heard on the radio that they are now making dog biscuits — and particularly tasty ones at that — in the shape of postmen. It seems altogether possible that the better side of my nature may not entirely approve.

Of course it may be that these biscuits are entirely inedible. For all I know experiments may have been carried out with postman-shaped dog biscuits and non-postman-shaped dog biscuits administered to various canines with conclusive proof that postmen are in fact less prone to attack than the former than the latter. If I, for example, were to eat postman-shaped dog biscuits I could be that I would feel less like eating postmen. Maybe. I suppose there is something in the principle that a substitute tastes better than the substitute one can be, as it were, avowed on the one and onto the other. An unsuspecting canine might be persuaded by a biscuit that he can do without.

Somewhat, though, I doubt it. If our dogs are anything to go by, there is no reason in the world why they shouldn't like him biscuits and postmen, regardless of shape.

(I found here, actually, it isn't just postmen that have a hard time of it. And it isn't just dogs that give them a hard time.)

Not long since, I looked out of the bathroom window and saw a vision. The vision was of Stan, the postman, up against the garage wall fur all the world as if he were taking part in some late-night gangsterish kind of holdup. In a way, I suppose, this is exactly what he was doing. In front of him were the gangsters, George and Margaret, necks extended, beady blue eyes alive with interest and hunger, tongues slipping ominously in and out of beaks, hissing madly. (Need I add, George and Margaret are geese?)

So now — since we happen to like our postman — we keep not only the two dogs shut in until after he has been, but the two geese as well.

And it begins to look as though at least one of the cockerels may also have to be held in custody until postman time. When he and his next black lady-wife first came to live with us, they were as though butter couldn't melt in their mouths. Well, she is as charming and dainty as ever; but he... is another matter. I think perhaps he has an exaggerated sense of the significance of his position in the Defense Department. No one is immune to his attentions, which consist of unpredictable shuffling attacks from any angle and almost invariably at the ankles. He seems entirely convinced that humanity is here as a kind of target practice. I've tried every lock I can imagine to stop him — except postman-shaped biscuits. But I think those would only make him worse.

I wouldn't mind so much, possibly, if these indignities of mine were a little more selective in their enthusiasm. Postmen doubtless should be discouraged (harmlessly) from bringing certain kinds of mail — those of a

demanding, end-of-the-month variety. Now if pet-tool manufacturers were to come up with something sweet-tasting in the shape of electricity bills, then I'd feel that an era of progress had set in. But against even present odds the postman seems determined to deliver unwelcome and welcome communications alike.

Poor Stan has once or twice arrived at an unexpected time, before the more eager of our two dogs has been confined. The release of pent-up fury has shattered the district furiously. It is one dog that makes almost all the fuss. The other, who has lived here much longer, has now decided, with that sense of economy of effort that characterizes her luxurious approach to life, that since Dog Two wants to bark at any and every visitor, why not let her? So she quietly relaxes in her daybed and lets the other dog do the work. Only if Dog Two is away does she take over the duty — so poor Stan doesn't escape whatever.

The worst episode was Ben. Actually Ben is an episode; there is no other way to describe him. He is a dubious Labrador, and belongs to a friend who visits. Ben is very unpopular with everyone. Our two dogs do nothing but bare their teeth at him. The cats skulk or run. The geese retreat. Even the cockerel leaves off Ben's ankles. But Ben "can't help it." He has "had a bad background." He is "untrained." He "means well."

Enter poor Stan. Exit poor Stan, trudging across the meadow. Ben, escaping somehow from the house, took off like dark lightning and caught up with Stan midfield.

I really thought that the General Post Office would call it a day with us after that. But there is a very intrepid side to this institution and its representatives (some of whom, I have heard it said, sensibly arm themselves with currant buns), and next morning, Stan was doing the rounds again.

I saved him the anguish of going all the way to our house, in fact, because I happened to be down at the village hall helping to put scenery together for the Young Farmers' play. The least I could do was ask him if he was all right.

"Eh?" he said.
"After the Black Dog Episode yesterday."

"Oh — aye." Stan doesn't expand much when it comes to talking.

"But did it teeth get through your boots?" I went on (since I do expand).

"Nay! ... But they would 'ave, if I 'adn't 'ad me rellious on."

Which perhaps illogically suggests to me that the least the new postman-shaped-dog-biscuit manufacturers could do is package their product in well-shaped containers. Something really should be done to protect biscuits. It's only fair.

Christopher Andrews

Humanity's presence

The great masters in all the arts have been whole men, not half men. They have had marvelous fullness in all human directions, have been intensely humane in themselves and in their interests. And if they seem to select, it is because they have so much to select from.

It may be that what we take for absence of humanity is the very presence of it — our understanding of the word, of the emotion, being so different, so materialistic.

Robert Henri

From "The Art Spirit," compiled by Marjorie A. Ryerson ©1923 J. B. Lippincott Co.

The Monitor's religious article

Never too old

The material phenomenon of age begins to force itself upon us during even the earliest days of human life. We suddenly become too old to continue to be carried about in our parents' arms or to be wheeled about in a carriage, and so we must begin the laborious task of learning to walk. Shortly after that demand is met, we find that we are too old to stay around the house all the time, and have to make the huge adjustment of going off to school by ourselves to learn what we seemed to have had no need to learn before. So we are compelled to leave old milestones behind and accept new ones.

As time goes on, and we keep maturing physically and mentally, suddenly being "too old" to do something carries with it a sense of sadness or despair.

Christian Science offers a radical solution — radical in the sense that it represents a considerable departure from an all too common point of view. But it is a departure that has full scriptural justification and can bring a feeling of peace and joy to our lives.

This solution calls for the acceptance of the Bible teaching that man is made in the image of God. But this truth of man's real identity seems so widely forgotten, lost or submerged in the material illusion of man as a mortal whose life begins in an embryo and ends in the grave.

Whatever our years by material count, we can always obey the command of Isaiah, "Cense ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?" This is not man, not our true being — this object called a material body! It cannot be the image of God, or else God must be material. But God is divine Spirit, not matter; and man is spiritual — not material or physical.

So what is it that goes through those stages of experience from childhood and youth to middle and old age? If it is not man, not my true selfhood or yours, what is it?

Think of it as you would the sequence of a night dream — better ordered, perhaps, but still of the same general nature. You see objects and bodies in your dream. You will probably see one body that you call your own — that you are completely convinced is you. Of course, the body you think is you is only an object you are aware of — but you don't know this as long as you are dreaming.

Christian Science says to mankind: Wake up from the dream of life in matter, from the belief that man is a physical body, a thing that begins and ends! Man is God's idea, never born and never dying. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes: "Mortal existence is a dream; mortal existence has no real entity, but with 'it is I' and 'I am' says further sleep: 'A mortal body is weary or pained, enjoy or suffer, according to the dream he entertains in sleep. When that dream vanishes, the mortal finds himself experiencing none of these dream sensations.'"

So it doesn't matter what age we give to the body we have mistakenly assumed to be our own entity. The man we really are, the spiritual image of God, experiences no problem of growing old. Christ Jesus showed that an understanding of God and of man's perfect unity with the Father is our way to eternal life — life without beginning or end. We need to learn more of what is meant by the Christ, the spiritual idea of man's sonship to God. Jesus said, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

As long as we believe that we are in the mortal body we see as part of the human scene, we will miss that abundance of life. But we do not need to miss it, not for a moment! We can, instead, express our real nature as the child of God who lives because God lives and who fully enjoys being what God has made him to be — His likeness now and forever! And as we learn more and reflect more of our true selfhood as God's reflection, we will find that the developing demands of day-to-day living, bring us ever wider opportunities to prove that man lives in God, and that he lives forever.

*Isaiah 2:22; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 250; John 10:10.

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OPINION AND...

Portugal: Mr. Ford's strange blunder

By Douglas L. Wheeler

President Ford stated in the recent TV debate:

"We have been successful in Portugal where a year ago it looked like there was a very great possibility that the Communists would take over in Portugal. It didn't happen. We have a democracy in Portugal today."

This statement is both inaccurate and misleading. Press reaction in Portugal was almost uniformly antagonistic. For leftist parties, President Ford's imprecise statement appeared to confirm their oft-repeated conspiracy theories about CIA intervention in Portugal. For the center and right parties, there was resentment and an affirmation that it was "the Portuguese people" who saved democracy in 1975.

In fact, the United States had relatively little to do with influencing the course of political struggle in Portugal during the crucial summer and fall of 1975. The major factors which aided the democratic forces in the parties, the armed forces, and the government, were: valiant leadership by politicians such as Socialist chief Mario Soares, a group of professional Army officers, masses of Portuguese people who feared a new tyranny of the left, and aid from major Western European states such as West Germany, Britain, and Sweden.

In monetary terms, American aid has been modest compared to that from Portugal's European allies and friends.

One of the most forceful stimulants behind the majority of Portuguese people, who gave 81.5 percent of their votes in the 1976 presidential election to General Balsem, was the experience of radical leftist control during most of 1975.

Who was "successful" in Portugal in establishing a native democracy? One of the lessons of the period since the Portuguese revolution of April 25, 1974, is that if democracy has finally been entrenched it has been a difficult, costly struggle and that if it is to be won finally it will have to be done by the Portuguese.

Portugal's Second Republic is troubled by a host of problems which might make most non-Portuguese leaders and voters blanch: the most severe financial and economic problems in the West, a new refugee population from the former African colonies, an energy crisis, class conflict, and sustained and complex political conflicts.

Portugal has had a surfeit of politics: there were three free elections within 14 months, some 50 parties have appeared and a

complex multiparty system dominates the now assembly. Among voters there are differing views concerning what a democracy should be, the practice of political tolerance and compromise, Portugal's new role in the world, how much power Lisbon should share with the provinces and the Atlantic Islands (Azores, Madeira), what comprises social justice and the question of redistributing wealth in a poor nation.

If there are severe problems and if the Portuguese are not yet out of the woods where their crisis of democracy is concerned, there are positive aspects to ponder. The U.S. has increased its aid, and the Western European states have pledged a significant amount of help. The German Marshall Fund of the U.S. is supporting a high-level conference of economists this month in Portugal which will take a hard look at solutions. The economy is beginning to undergo a modest recovery and Portuguese abroad are resuming a more normal flow of emigrants' remittances.

The United States cannot, as if by magic, "produce" a democracy in Portugal. But it can, with careful and sensitive listening and planning, help Portugal to help itself. It can inhibit not paternalistic or condescending pity

but sympathy and understanding of a complex situation in a very old nation.

There are specific ways in which Americans can be helpful in Portugal. There should be renewed effort of U.S. businessmen to do something to be desired. They begin to emerge as what are called "ordinary men with ordinary limitations."

This discovery of the ordinariness of both candidates has led to a good deal of apathy among potential voters. A low turnout is being predicted for election day. One hears questionable remarks such as, "Why can't we get superior people to run for the presidency?"

I would like to put in a word for ordinary people and make the incidental point that as presidential candidates go, Americans could be worse off, indeed they have been worse off in more than one previous election.

They have, of course, been outstanding American presidents.

The list of such presidents begins with Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Others were of equally high stature but not always set off by times of crisis. Had Calvin Coolidge been president during a moment of high crisis he might conceivably have

Dr. Wheeler, author of the book "The Golden Age," is professor of modern African and Iberian history at the University of New Hampshire.

It's time to warm up your cool, America

Melvin Maddocks

A friend who shall be identified only by the code name Harry Hotspur says that if he hears about one more politician who is absolutely "unflappable" or another quarterback who "never loses his poise under fire," he will - he gives the word - he will - he will -

What is it, Harry H. wonders, that gets Americans so excited about those who keep their heads wide open around them who are losing theirs?

The publishing of Mary Hemingway's memoir, "How It Was," reminds Harry of Ernest Hemingway's justly famous definition of courage as "grace under pressure." Here, he believes, is the Code of Cool at its best, yet what a mixed effect it has had! Public faces from Humphrey Bogart to John F. Kennedy have set themselves at temperatures from frozen solid to just-this-side-of-thaw as the American media has precluded looking like a Hemingway hero.

As a branch of stoicism, as a style of behavior for men in a bad situation (such as war or running out of gas on the Painted Desert), the Code of Cool cannot be faulted, Harry concedes. He thinks the problem occurs when this crisis-philosophy - essentially designed for survival in physical emergencies - is applied as an all-purpose approach to life.

Harry's simplified and selected history of American archetypes reads like this:

1. The father of all codes of cool: the puritan. For the puritan, "grace under pressure" held an ironic double meaning. He may have had the light, but it was,

In Ingmar Bergman's phrase, "a winter's light."

2. The frontiersmen - surviving wild beasts and Indians (so his myth went) by total cool. The frosty-blue, long-distance eye said it all. Next to his long rifle, boy was the frontiersman over his own best friend!

3. The Yankee - that walking pocket-calculator. Think of Benjamin Franklin, rattling at the top of his moral echelon cool virtues like "Order," "Circumstances," "Frugality."

4. The tycoon, otherwise known as Horatio Alger on ice. Money is certainly the coolest of values, and the fact that it has become for too many Americans the chief value should, Harry thinks, send a chill down the spine.

Even if one analyzes the historical correctives to these archetypes, one tends to find only a counter-coolness, Harry points out. Consider the presumably anti-puritan swinger - did any playboy in history ever so worship coolness? Or take the salivator-seekers of the '60s and '70s, recouping the frigid zones of materialism - for what? A whole variety of Zeb-menhol philosophies whose promise is a coolness, an ultimate tranquillity all too often bordering, alas, on cosmic indifference.

Leslie H. Farber, a brilliant essayist on American

character, has confronted the whole phenomenon as well as anybody, Harry believes. We moderns, Forber argues, trust almost desperately in the power of the will, the coldest part of the psyche. If we will a thing hard enough, we can, by ley determination, make it happen, and now. Finitude of the mind, we think we can even will ourselves to be just that: cool.

In November, if Americans follow precedent, Harry predicts we will vote for the man who best gives the lie to being in charge. And our judgment will begin with the question: Is this man in charge of himself?

Meanwhile, Harry laments, coolness all too regularly seems to lie outside these cool boundaries. He asks you: Was any great prophet cool? Moses? Isaiah? Was any great artist cool? Sophocles? Shinkopuro? Michelangelo? Was Winston Churchill cool? Was Abraham Lincoln cool?

Deep down, Harry believes, Americans know that cool is not everything - that there is a generosity of mind, a responsiveness of feeling, a risk-taking of faith that lie beyond the Code of Cool. But don't ask people to describe this beyond-coolness, he warns. They'll just make another one of those Benjamin Franklin lists that turn everything they touch to cool.

And that's the whole trouble, Harry complains. A cool society allows only two responses even to its dissidents: Be pretentious, or make a wisecrack. Sometimes it's enough to make Harry scream - which, he doesn't fail to suggest, is at least one way out.

You've come a long way, Jimmy Carter

Now that it is becoming increasingly possible that Jimmy Carter will be the next president, a lot of reporters are recalling that they "knew him when" - when, two years ago, he was beginning to sell himself with very little going for him except a smile and a shoe shine.

The Jimmy Carter of that early period was extremely "soft sell." If we may keep with the salesman imagery, his voice was quiet, his manner gentle, almost obsequious. He exhibited a quick mind and a surprising amount of knowledge about national and international issues and the way the federal government worked.

Governor Carter met on several occasions with a group of reporters when he visited Washington. Often, after one of these sessions, there would be expressions such as these from rather hard-boiled newsmen: "He's certainly well informed - but how does his figure have a chance to become president?" Or

"The aggressiveness and inner toughness of Carter, the presidential nominee, and of Carter's debater, did not come through at these sessions. Or, at least, few if any Washington reporters discerned these qualities. Instead, they were coming out of these morning get-togethers would usually concentrate on Carter's 'easy informal manner' and then say something about the way he looked. One reporter wrote, 'A rather whimsical face.' Another said, 'A man of half like a wig turned gray at the ears.'"

"A homely face of a most attractive sort, looking like Eleanor Roosevelt."

"An eccentric society - a nuclear engineer, peanut farmer, and a born-again Baptist."

Mr. Carter picked the curiosity of us all. How could anyone be as naïve as to think he could jump from being governor of a Deep South state into the White House? And how

could anyone, as he said, "place" get anywhere at all in the presidential primaries? The consensus: Jimmy Carter would be cut up once he got into the "big leagues."

How wrong we all were!

This reporter remembers quite vividly the very moment when he began to see a "new Carter," a man who might well gain the nomination. That was last fall when Carter appeared on the same platform at Ames, Iowa, with several other candidates, including Udall, Shriver, Harris, Jackson, Ryan, and Sanford.

That was not too many weeks before Iowa had its first round of caucuses. The process is used to select its state delegates for the Democratic nomination. The site of the "debate" was a gathering of some 4,000 Democratic rank and file. The Monitor passed out questionnaires in the crowd, asking (1) who was the debate? And (2) why?

Mr. Carter spoke briefly, and a number of people afterward said they had returned to ev-

ery word. He spoke of the need to raise the moral standard of government in Washington. He said: (and these were words we were to hear again and again from then on) "I can hear a government as good as our people are - that will be a great achievement."

The questionnaires were turned in, and, to our surprise, Carter was overwhelmingly the winner.

Interestingly, while many of the letters said they were "more attentive" to Jimmy Carter than to any of the other candidates, some also marked him down a bit for not being "sufficiently energetic" or "sufficiently candid." Several said one way or another they felt Mr. Carter had, as one expressed it, "everything it takes to make a president."

In January Mr. Carter won the first caucus, and, on the strength of that, came the favorite to win the first presidential primary election in New Hampshire. And he did win there. He was on his way.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

One vote for a candidate with clay feet

The stature of America's two leading contenders for the presidency does not seem to have grown during the campaign. Mr. Ford's grasp of the business of government seems to be less than complete. Mr. Carter's concern for accuracy and consistency seems to leave something to be desired. They begin to emerge as what are called "ordinary men with ordinary limitations."

This discovery of the ordinariness of both candidates has led to a good deal of apathy among potential voters. A low turnout is being predicted for election day. One hears questionable remarks such as, "Why can't we get superior people to run for the presidency?"

I would like to put in a word for ordinary people and make the incidental point that as presidential candidates go, Americans could be worse off, indeed they have been worse off in more than one previous election.

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The list of such presidents begins with Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Others were of equally high stature but not always set off by times of crisis. Had Calvin Coolidge been president during a moment of high crisis he might conceivably have

emerged as a big man. We shall never know. He was President during dull times. As a result he is remembered primarily for his parsimonious ways.

A number of American presidents seemed worse at the time of their election in the eyes of their contemporaries than either Mr. Ford or Mr. Carter seem in today's eyes. Abraham Lincoln was caricatured in Eastern newspapers as everything from a blundering oaf to an ape man. The distrust of Mr. Carter among today's Eastern intellectuals is nothing compared to the distrust of and contempt for Mr. Lincoln among their counterparts of 1860.

The same Eastern intellectual establishment shuddered when it heard that Harry S. Truman had become President. When Adlai Stevenson ran for the presidency in 1952, Mr. Truman was widely regarded as a liability in the party. Mr. Stevenson disassociated himself as much as possible from Mr. Truman and the Truman record. He tried to dissuade Mr. Truman from joining the campaign on his behalf.

Harry Truman has become a hero to many an American. Mr. Ford has patterned his campaign on Mr. Truman's 1948 campaign. But he did not look like a hero to his contemporaries. He looked like a stubborn, opinionated ordinary

man who had had the audacity to fire the great war hero Douglas MacArthur.

The popular perception of a presidential candidate can be inaccurate. In 1920 Warren Harding seemed eminently fitted to be a president. He was tall and handsome and a fine orator. He appeared to be everything Americans would want in a president. He campaigned for high office from a rocking chair in his front porch in Marion, Ohio. At the time this was taken to be a sign of integrity and good sense. His administration was one of the two most scandal-ridden in American history.

In other words, today's perception of Messrs. Ford and Carter may differ radically from what one of them will look like someday in the pages of history.

Right now we know Mr. Ford is a man who probably overreacted in the Mayaguez affair, who let himself get carried away about "Whip Inflation Now," who may well have overdone the swine flu program, who would have spent more money on Cambodia, Vietnam, and Angola if Congress had allowed him to do so - but who is a friendly, relaxed, and a comfortable person to have around. His rhetoric is on the bombastic side at times, but anyone can see that he means well and tries.

Right now we see Jimmy Carter as a man who has probably overclaimed his success as a governor of Georgia, who makes Northerners feel uncomfortable by flaunting his piety and his religion, who can toss an unfair slur at Mr. Ford as easily as Mr. Ford can toss one back - but who has had an excellent record as a student, as a naval officer, and as a businessman.

We cannot know how either man would perform under stress of true crisis. Neither has yet been tested in the kind of situations from which Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy emerged successfully.

But Americans did not know when they elected a Lincoln or a Truman how he would perform in a moment of crisis. They had to take a chance. One never can be sure in advance about such things.

But it can be said that Americans have in their past had less promising candidates from which to make their choice. I personally would far rather take my chances under either Mr. Ford or Mr. Carter than with half of the men who have previously been presented to this country. Either one will probably do better than half the presidents Americans have already had.

What Uncle Sam can do for a hard-up Europe

By David R. Fendley

For the next year and longer, the President of the United States, whoever he is, will have to deal with a problem that has a historic echo - political and economic troubles in Western Europe.

History does not repeat itself exactly. But the issues have a certain similarity to the decade or so after World War II when the U.S. was no longer the Western Europe - protecting it, and helping it grow economically, and checking a lot about the continent's political fables.

Then the U.S. ran into its long-lasting balance-of-payments deficit. Western Europe, by that time prosperous and relatively calm politically, often lectured American officials on the need for tougher economic policies.

Once more, however, transatlantic roles are being reversed. With the devaluation of the dollar in 1973 and the subsequent floating of exchange rates, the U.S. international payments problem disappeared.

Moreover, the United States has managed to deal with the 1973-75 burst of rapid inflation better than much of Europe. Great Britain, Italy, and France remain in acrid economic difficulty. In the latter two, Communist Parties and their left-of-center allies see the possibility of taking power legitimately through the electoral process.

Nowadays, however, the U.S. will have to be much more diplomatic than in the postwar period in helping Europe's problem nations.

There is nothing to be gained by further public lecturing of the Europeans," John W. Tuthill, director general of the

Boston Atlantic Institute in Paris said in an interview during a visit here.

Europeans are too proud and nationalistic to suffer American criticism easily. The Left will exploit any harsh U.S. words. They could be politically counterproductive.

Mr. Tuthill, a former American diplomat, believes that the U.S. will only be able to offer some encouraging words quietly in the background.

For instance, he suggests that the members of the European Community "must pull themselves together to insist upon making funds available to the Italians only on the basis of drastic economic and social reforms." This, he hopes, would give the Christian Democratic Party in Italy the will and excuse to accomplish what has long been necessary but politically difficult.

The French Government too, he figures, must make dramatic reforms if it is to stave off a left-wing majority in the parliament in elections in the spring of 1978.

Mr. Tuthill reckons it will be "very difficult" for President Giscard to push such legislative reforms, "given almost two centuries of talk about revolution in France and very little real change."

He added: "France is a very conservative country really." In both Italy and France, a key cause of political instability is what Mr. Tuthill calls a "terrible maldistribution of income." The well-to-do get too large a slice of the national income pie.

Britain under socialist governments had redistributed in-

come more evenly. But both Conservative and Labour governments have badly mismanaged the economy.

The United Kingdom has just asked the International Monetary Fund for a standby credit of \$3.87 billion to help attach the slide in the value of the pound. There will now be negotiations with the IMF (and thus indirectly the U.S., West Germany, and other industrial nations) on what economic measures Britain must take to justify the loan.

Mr. Tuthill cautions that Britain's chief trading partners must not be too tough or the Labour government might decide to put a stern limitation on imports.

In all three countries - Britain, France, and Italy - the prospects for making rapid progress in beating inflation are slim. The governments are printing too many pounds, francs, or liras.

New York's Citibank, for instance, predicts the pound will tumble from the current rate of about \$1.65 to \$1.54 by the fourth quarter of next year. This drop would reflect the high rate of inflation in Britain as compared with that in the U.S.

In France, where the money supply has been growing at a 10 percent rate in the 12 months ending last June, the new three-month price freeze will restrain inflation only temporarily.

Italy also is paying for its huge government deficits with inflation.

Continued drastic inflation will only complicate the delicate diplomatic problems the U.S. and West Germany face in encouraging Europe's troublesome trio to tackle their problems effectively.

Australia-Indonesia: a sturdy friendship put to the test

By Denis Warner

Melbourne When the Indonesian nationalists were battling for independence thirty years ago, it was Australia they turned to for friendship and help.

The neighborly friendship thus established between Australia and Indonesia has survived some tempestuous weather since.

For a long time Australia opposed the Indonesians' bid to take over West New Guinea. Later, when President Sukarno was trying unsuccessfully to crush Malaysia, Indonesian and Australian troops fought each other in the jungles of Borneo.

Even this open warfare did not spoil the friendship, for while some Australians and Indonesians were shooting at each other in Borneo, others were working together to demarcate the common border between West Irian and Papua-New Guinea.

After Sukarno's fall, Australia, although not one of Indonesia's creditors, took the initiative in persuading others to agree to reschedule Jakarta's debt and debt service payments.

Later when the rise in the price of oil led to a quick - but temporary - economic recovery

in Indonesia, Australia acted to make sure this extra oil revenue would not inequally benefit Indonesia from receiving help from the funds the international community was extending to developing countries.

Next to Papua-New Guinea, Indonesia is the biggest recipient of Australia's foreign aid. At most all of it is in the form of grants, requiring no repayments. The amount Indonesia gets is not large - about \$30 million a year with the promise of support at the same real value for the years to come. But it is useful and appreciated.

Yet all has not been well between the two countries in recent months. Feeling that it must take a stand on principle, the Fraser government opposed Indonesia's use of force to take over Portuguese Timor.

Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor) was in almost complete, if not effective, control of Portuguese Timor when the Indonesian "volunteers" moved in last year.

Darwin, only 400 miles away in Australia's far north, had become Fretilin's link with the outside world. Its leaders were frequently in

Australia, and established a radio transmitter in Oregon, Darwin.

The Indonesians charged that Australia had become a source of weapons for Fretilin - although this was strenuously denied by the Australian government.

The Australian reaction to their move into Timor has puzzled and hurt the Indonesians. Rightly or wrongly, they had been led to believe that there would be no opposition from Australia.

Portuguese Timor, with a population of only 600,000, was not economically viable, they argued, and Fretilin, which had seized power with guns acquired from the Portuguese army, was communist dominated.

Unfortunately for mutual understanding, Canberra did not see the situation in such simple terms. Fretilin was a composite of many factions, of which the Communists were only one, it said.

While the misunderstandings were still unresolved, Mr. Fraser, the Australian Prime Minister, visited China, which Indonesian leaders still regarded with suspicion.

A minor lull over Timor appeared to have

developed into a fundamental difference in perspectives, reinforced when Mr. Fraser's frank appraisal of the Indonesian leadership to Mr. Huo Kuo-feng, the Chinese prime minister, was inadvertently leaked to the press.

Taken aback by Jakarta's reaction, Australia decided to give tacit approval - but not formal recognition - to Indonesia's takeover in Timor. It also traced and closed down a clandestine Fretilin transmitter near Darwin, and was ready to assure the Indonesian leaders that Fretilin would not be allowed to use Australia as a base for anti-Indonesian propaganda.

On October 7 Mr. Fraser arrived in Jakarta on a mission intended to resolve good relations. He found the Indonesians hurt and surprised, but willing to listen to the genuine Australian desire for trust and friendship.

It may take some time, but the relationships seem certain to mend. For despite vast differences in culture, standards of living, political outlooks and international relationships, the need for good neighborliness is mutual. It has survived more serious tests in the past. It will survive again now.